

A GENUINE and TRUE

JOURNAL

Of the most miraculous

ESCAPE

OF THE

YOUNG CHEVALIER,

From the BATTLE of CULLODEN, to his landing in
FRANCE.

Taken from the MOUTHS and JOURNALS of the very
PERSONS who assisted him therein.

Partly wrote in LONDON, and partly in SCOTLAND.

To which is added,

A Large ACCOUNT of what befel the PR. in FRANCE,
and of the Manner of taking him Prisoner, and of send-
ing him to AVIGNON.

By an ENGLISHMAN.

L O N D O N:

Printed M.DCC.LIV.

and Tans

R N A

most numerous

E A E



T H T

HEVNER

CULLODEN, to his landing
RANGE.

thus and journals of the year
who called him therein.

don, and partly in Scotland.

which is added.

what held the Fr. in TRAN
taking him prisoner, and of his
HOM.

THE ENGLISHMAN

W. O. M. D. O.

Printed and sold by

A TRUE JOURNAL, &c.

AFTER the Highlanders gave way at the Battle of Culloden, the Pr. was forced off the Field by Major Kennedy and the other Officers, while the French Forces, and some few Scots, kept the Duke's Army engaged for some Time, to prevent any immediate Pursuit.

Many Gentlemen, and others, went to guard the Pr. safe off; and at some Distance from the Field of Battle a Council was held, in which it was agreed, That all Fitz-James's Horse, and all other Horsemen, should go to Ruthven in Badenoch, except some few. Here it was the Pr. desired the Gentlemen to begin to separate, that their Enemies might not so easily know what Route each of them should take; and accordingly, the Hon. Charles Boyd, Esq; second Son to the Earl of Kilmarnock, and some others, kissed the Pr.'s Hand, and went off on their respective Routes.

The Pr. then, with some other Gentlemen, proceeded on his Journey; and the first Place where he stop'd, was at Tordarroch, about nine Miles from Inverness. But, as there was no Person at home, they all went to Aberardar, in Macintosh's Country, three Miles farther; thence to Faroline, in Lovat's Country, five Miles; and thence one Mile more to Gortulaige, where they met Lord Lovat, and drank two or three Glasses of Wine.

Here Lord Elcho took his Leave, and set forward for Kinlochmoidart, where he arrived a few Days after the Battle; not a little disgusted, that other Officers would not be led by him in every Thing.

There came hither with the Pr. Sir Thomas Sheridan, Sir David Murray, (one of the Pr.'s Aid de Camps,) Sullivan, Mr. Alexander Macleod, (one of the Pr.'s Aid de Camps, and Son of Mr. John Macleod Advocate,) John Hay, (who was Secretary in Murray's Sickness or Absence,) Edward Burk, (Alexander Macleod's Servant;)

vant;) Mr. Hay's Servant, and *Allan Macdonald*, who went as a Guide.

About Ten o'Clock at Night, the Pr. and his few Attendants, proceeded on their Journey. They arrived at *Glengary*, or *Invergarry* Castle, about Four or Five o'Clock in the Morning, and found only one Man there; who said, *Glengary* and his Family were abroad, and had left no Provisions or Furniture in the House: So the Pr. was obliged to ly on the Floor, without any Refreshment.

When Day-light appeared, *Edward Burk*, above-mentioned, saw a Net, which he drew in the Water, and caught two Salmons, on which they dined very well.

Here all the Company took their Leaves of the Pr. and went to *Arnaby*, except *Sullivan*, *Allan Macdonald*, and *Edward Burk*, whom Mr. Macleod left to be the Pr.'s Guide.

About two o'Clock in the Afternoon, the Pr. set forward with his three Companions, having dressed himself in *Edward Burk's* Cloaths, and went to *Donald Cameron's* at *Glenpean*, in *Löchiel's* Country, where they arrived about Nine at Night.

On the 18th, the Pr. went to *Mewbol*, in *Clanronald's* Country, where he staid all Night, was well entertained, and got some Sleep, which he had not had for five Days and Nights; his Army having been under Arms, marching and countermarching, without Sleep, or much Meat, for Forty-eight Hours before the Battle.

The next Day, being the 19th, the Pr. waited some Hours in hopes of getting Intelligence of some of his Friends after their Defeat; but, hearing nothing, he was obliged to set out on Foot, the Horse-road not only being about, but so bad, as to be scarce, if at all passable. He therefore walked, over almost inaccessible Mountains, to the Glen of *Morar*, or *Kinloch-Morar*; and thence to *Glen-Biasdale*, or *Boradale*, in *Arifraig*, *Clanranald's* Country, through as bad Ways as can be conceived. Hither Mr. *Aneas Macdonald*, the Banker, came to meet the Pr., who had wrote to him for that Purpose, and returned again the same Night to his Brother's House at *Kinlochmoidart*. About two Days after this, Lord *Elcho* and *O'Neill*, got to *Kinlochmoidart*.

Here



Here the Pr. waited several Days till Captain *Oneille* came to him, by Sir *Thomas Sheridan's* Directions; and told him, that all Hopes of drawing his Troops together again were now over: Upon which he resolved at last to go to the Western Islands, whence he thought that he could get a Vessel to *France*.

Strong were the Debates about leaving the Continent of *Scotland*, and going to the Isles. The *Highlanders* endeavoured to dissuade the Pr. from undertaking so dangerous a Step; but at last *Sullivan*, whose Advice had injured his Master more than once, prevailed upon him to go, asserting the great Probability of getting a Ship there soon, and the great Danger of staying where they were: But the Pr. following this Advice, had like to have lost his Life many ways, as we shall find in the Sequel.

In one Day three several Messengers got to *Donald Macleod*, who had been with Mr. *Aeneas Macdonald* to the Isles, to fetch some Money from the Isle of *Barra*, and was returning when the Battle was ended. These three were sent, lest any of them should have missed him. Their Errand was, to desire Mr. *Macleod* would go to the Pr. at *Boradale*.

Pursuant to this Summons, *Donald* went; and, in going through a Wood on the 20th or 21st of *April*, met the Pr. walking alone. The Pr. seeing *Donald*, went up to him boldly, and asked him, "If he was *Donald Macleod* of *Gualtergil*, in the Isle of *Sky*?" "Yes," said *Donald*. Then said the Pr. "You see the Distress I am in; I therefore throw myself into your Bosom; do with me what you like; I am your Prince."

In repeating these Words, the poor old Man burst into a Flood of Tears, and said, "I hope, Sir, (meaning the Person he was telling this to,) you'll pardon me; for who can forbear Weeping, in relating so sad a Subject?" *Donald*, having wiped his Eyes, proceeded, and said, he told the Pr. "That as he, (*Macleod*) was old, he was afraid he could not be of any Service to the Pr. but yet was willing to do what he could." Then says the Pr. "I desire you'll go with Letters from me to Sir *Alexander Macdonald* and

"and the Laird of Macleod; for I am persuaded that those Gentlemen, notwithstanding what they have done, will yet endeavour to protect me."

This last Declaration of the Pr. struck Donald with Surprise; and he immediately told the Pr. "He would do any Thing for him [the Pr.] except that: Because, says Donald, your Highness knows they have played the R——e already, and you must not trust them again: For at this very Time they are in search for you, with their Forces, within Ten or Twelve Miles of you; if they come by Sea, though it be more by Land; and therefore, the sooner you remove from this Place, the better."

Upon Donald's Refusal, as above, the Pr. said, "As you are a good Pilot, I desire then that you will conduct me thro' the Islands to some safer Place than this." Which Donald Macleod readily agreed to; and accordingly procured an eight-oar'd Boat, late the Property of John Macdonald, Son of Aeneas or Angus Macdonald of Boradale. This John was either killed at the Battle of Culloden, or murdered the next Day; for he has never been heard of since. Donald Macleod also bought a Pot to boil Meat in, when they should arrive on Shore, and a Firlot of Meal; which was all the Provision he could get there.

On the 26th, they went on board in the Twilight in the Evening, at Lochmannuagh in Boradale; being the same Place where the Pr. first landed on the Continent of Scotland, and Boradale's House was the first he entered. There were in the Boat, the Pr. O'Neill, Sullivan, Allan Macdonald of Clanranald's Family, and Donald Macleod, who was Pilot, and betwixt whose Knees the Pr. sat. The Names of the Boatmen were Rhoderick Macdonald, Lauchlan Macmurrich, Rhoderick Macaskill, John Macdonald, Murdoch Macleod, Son of the Pilot, Duncan Roy, Alexander Macdonald, and Edward Burk, who had conducted the Pr. from the Battle of Culloden to this Place. The above Murdoch Macleod was then only fifteen Years old; and when he heard of the speedy Appearance of a Battle, provided for himself a Claymore, a Dirk, and a Pistol, and went to the Battle of Culloden; whence he escaped, though hurt; and hunting

ing out the Pr. all the Way, followed him, and here met both the Pr. and his own Father very well.

I can't help remarking here, that the Pr. must have been greatly beloved in this Country, when this Lad could hunt him out so as to find him, and the military Folks never could. So backward were People to tell where the Pr. was, when his Life was in Danger.

When they were about to go into the Boat, *Donald Macleod* begged the Pr. would not go that Night, because it would prove a Storm. But the Pr. was so anxious to be gone, that he was determined to set forwards.

They had not gone far, before the Storm, which *Donald Macleod* foresaw at a distance, reached them; and was greater than *Donald* had ever seen before, though always a seafaring Man, on that Coast; but, with this additional Grief, that it rained most violently all the Time they were out: And, what was still worse, they had neither Pump nor Compass with them; and the Night was as dark as possible, insomuch, that none of them knew where they were. This increased their Fears, lest they should be drove on the Isle of *Sky*, where the Militia were in Arms. But next Morning, as the Light increased, they discovered they were on the Coast of the *Long Isle*, (as that Chain of Isles is commonly called here;) where, about Seven o'Clock in the Morning, with great Difficulty, they landed at a Point of Land called *Rossinish*, in the N. E. Part of the Isle of *Benbecula*, and haled their Boat on Shore to dry Land; having run about thirty Leagues in eight Hours: A most extraordinary quick Voyage. This Isle lies in 57 deg. 40 min. N. Lat. is about five Miles long from East to West, and three broad from North to South, and lies betwixt *North* and *South-Uist* Islands.

Thus, this Storm, which the whole Crew thought a great Misfortune at first, was one of the most providential Things that could befall them; for it prevented any immediate Attempt to follow the Pr. and if any Boats were out, and could get into a secure Place, they would certainly put in, rather than run such an apparent Hazard of being drowned; which nothing but the immediate Hand of Providence could prevent, especially in an eight-oar'd open Boat, crowded and overload-
ed

ed with thirteen People. So ready is the Frailty of human Nature to find fault with what Providence sends as a real Good! At this Time, very lucky for the Pr. the Duke of *Cumberland*, and his Army, thought he had sailed for *St. Kilda* in the North; a Place so remote, that no Suspicion would be readily entertained of the Pr. being there. This Place belongs to the Laird of *Macleod*; and the People there pay their Rents in Feathers of the *Solan Geese*; for which that Laird's Factor goes thither annually.

The Duke of *Cumberland*, imagining that the Pr. was gone to *St. Kilda*, sent Gen. *Campbell* (*John Hay*, Commander of a Customhouse-yacht, being Pilot) with as considerable a Force as could be conveyed by the Fleet then present.

On Sight of this Fleet, the Inhabitants fled to hide themselves in the Cliffs of Rocks, being terrified, having never seen such a Sight before.

Some of the Forces, being landed, inquired of such of the Inhabitants as they could find, what was become of the Pretender? To whom these poor Creatures replied, That they had never heard of such a Person. They said, indeed, they had heard a Report, that their Laird [*Macleod*] had lately been at War with a Woman a great Way abroad, but that he had got the better of her; and that was all they knew of the Affairs of the World. So the General then returned *re infectâ*.

The Pr. here, in *Benbecula*, got on Shore into an uninhabited Hut, and helped to make a Fire to warm the Crew, who were almost starved to Death with Cold and Wet. The Storm continued for fourteen Hours after they landed.

Here the Pr. bought a Cow for thirty Shillings, and immediately shot her, and had some of her boiled in the Pot which *Donald Macleod* had bought. After which the Pr. lay down on the Floor, having no other Bed than an old Sail-cloth, and slept very sound; but the Crew were obliged to keep a good Look-out, lest they should be surprised by any Party of Men.

They staid two Nights in this Place; so that, on the 29th in the Evening, the Weather being favourable, they set sail about Six o'Clock for *Stornway* in the Island of *Lewis*, in N. Lat. 58 deg. 8 min. where *Donald Macleod*

[7]

leod did not doubt but he should be able to procure a proper Vessel to convey the Pr. safe into France. They took some of their Beef with them, and set sail; but, meeting with another Storm, they were obliged to put into the Island of *Scalpay* or *Glass*, near the *Harris*, belonging to the Laird of *Macleod*, and is about fourteen Leagues North of *Benbecula*. This Island is about one Mile long, and half a Mile broad.

Here they all went on Shore about two Hours before Day-light on the 30th in the Morning, and passed for Merchants shipwrecked in their Voyage to the *Orkneys*; the Pr. and *Sullivan* going by the Name of *Sinclair*; the latter for the Father, and the former for the Son; and were well entertained at one *Donald Campbell's* House, a Farmer.

The next Day, *May 1. Donald Macleod*, so often mentioned, procuring a Boat of his Friend *Campbell*, went to *Stornway* with Instructions to freight a Vessel for the *Orkneys*.

On the 3d of *May*, the Pr. received a Message from Mr. *Macleod*, That a Ship was ready. The next Day, therefore, the Pr. having got another Boat with four Men, landed at *Loch-Shefort*; where *Allan Macdonald* took his Leave, and went for *South-Uist*.

The Pr. then having *O'Neill*, *Sullivan*, and his Guide, with him, set out on Foot for *Stornway*, which is about sixteen Miles by Land, and arrived at the Point of *Arynish*, about half a Mile S. E. from *Stornway*, on the 5th about Noon; having travelled eighteen Hours on the Hills in a wet stormy Night, without any kind of Refreshment, and were misled by their Guide, either through Ignorance or Design, having conducted them eight Miles out of the Way, when they might have avoided that Trouble by crossing the Ferry from *Scalpay* to the *Harris*, which is about a Quarter of a Mile over. This, though they then thought it a Misfortune, yet proved to be the very providential Means of preventing the Pr. from being taken; which, had they arrived there sooner, would have been the Case, as we shall see presently.

From this Place the Pr. sent his Guide to *Donald Macleod* at *Stornway*, desiring he would send some Brandy, Bread and Cheese, for they were almost starved.

wed and famished. The faithful *Donald* soon brought it himself to the Pr. and his two Companions on the Moor, all wet to the Skin, and much wearied with their Journey; wherefore *Donald* took them to Lady *Kildun's* [*Mackenzie*] at *Arynish*, to wait there till every Thing should be ready for setting sail. Being wearied, the Pr. went to Sleep.

This done, *Donald Macleod* returned to *Stornway*; but was greatly surprised to find the Men there rising in Arms, above 200 having already got up. *Donald*, not knowing what was the Occasion of this Rising, went directly into the Room where the Gentlemen were, who had taken upon them the Rank of Officers, and asked them, "What was the Matter?" On which they immediately began to curse him, saying, "We hear the Pr. is upon *Lewis*; and not far from *Stornway*, coming with 500 Men, to burn the Town and take away our Cattle, &c. and to force a Vessel from *Stornway* to carry him to *France*." *Donald* replied, "I think you are all mad. Where the Devil could the Pr. in his present Condition, get either 500 or 100 Men?" They replied, "That Mr. *John Macaulay*, a Presbyterian Minister in *South-Uist*, had wrote this to his Father in the *Harris*, and that the Father had sent the same to Mr. *Colin Mackenzie* Minister in the *Lewis*."† "Well then, (says *Donald*), since you know the Pr. is already on the Island, I own he is; but he is so far from having any Forces, that he has only two Companions, and, when I am there, I make a third: And let me tell you farther, Gentlemen, if *Seaforth* himself was here, he durst not (by God) put a Hand to the Pr.'s Breast."

Upon this the *Mackenzies* declared, "That they had no Intention to do the Pr. any, even the least Harm; or to meddle with him at present in any shape; but then desired, he might leave them, and go to the Continent, or any where else." The Wind being fair, *Donald Macleod* then desired a Pilot, but they refused him one. *Donald* then returned to the Pr. and gave him a full and honest Account how Matters stood;

† This Isle of *Lewis* belongs to Lord *Seaforth*, and is inhabited by the *Mackenzies*.

on which they were all at a loss what Step to take. Some proposed to fly to the Moor ; but the Pr. replied, " He would not. I'll stand my Ground, (said he); for, " if we fly, our Enemies may be encouraged to pursue."

Now the Reader may observe, that, had not the Pr. been taken out of the Way eight Miles by the Guide, he would have been in the Town of *Stornway* when Mr. *Macaulay's* Letter to Mr. *Colin Mackenzie* arrived ; and then the People would have risen upon him, and have either killed him in their Fury, or taken him Prisoner : Both which he thus providentially escaped.

At this Time, the Pr. *O'Neill*, and *Sullivan*, had only six Shirts amongst them, and were frequently obliged to strip off the wet ones before the others were half dry.

Two of the four Boatmen had fled up to the Moor, upon seeing the People rising at *Stornway* ; and the other two went off to Sea with the Boat.

While they were at Lady *Kildun's*, they killed a Cow ; for which the Pr. would have paid, but she at first refused, till the Pr. insisted upon it. When they left the Place, they took some of the Cow with them, two Pecks of Meal, and Plenty of Brandy and Sugar ; and, at parting, Lady *Kildun* gave *Edward Burk* a large Lump of Butter. This Man was generally Cook ; but the Pr. was the best Cook, and made them a Cake, or Bread, of the Brains of the Cow mixed up with Meal, and baked it upon a Stone before the Fire.

They staid here all Night ; and, about Two o'Clock in the Morning, being the 6th of *May*, the two Boatmen returned with the Boat : And, as soon as Day-light appeared, they got into the Boat, and rowed away with only two Boatmen, the other not returning from the Moor.

The Pr. and Company resolved to go, in *Donald Campbell's* Boat, to the *Orkneys* ; but the Men would not venture ; so they were obliged to steer South, along the Coast-side, hoping to meet with better Success. But they soon espied two *English* Ships ; which obliged them to put into a desert Island, called *Euirn* or *Iffurt*, being about half a Mile long, and as much broad ; and is

twelve Miles distant from *Stornway*, and lies a little North of *Scalpay* or *Glasf*.

At this Place there were some Fishermen, who, taking the Pr.'s Boat to be a Press-boat belonging to the Men of War, ran away, leaving their Fish, Pots, &c. The Fishermen of *Lewis* dry their Fish here upon the Rock; some of which the Pr. and Company found, and was a Feast for them. The Pr. at first, was going to put some Money, whence he took the Fish, as Pay for them; but recollecting, that it should show the Fishermen, that some Person of Note had been there, and might thereby be attended with bad Consequences, he thought proper to put his Money up again into his Pocket.

They staid on this Island till the 10th, lying in a low pitiful Hut, like a Hog-sty, belonging to the Fishermen; so ill roofed, that they were obliged to spread the Boat's Sail over the Top of it, and lie upon the bare Floor; keeping Watch by turns.

About Ten o'Clock in the Forenoon, on the 10th of *May*, they embarked for the *Harris*, taking about two Dozen of Fish with them, and got to *Scalpay* or *Glasf*, to their Hospitable Farmer's again; and, in that Place, offered Money to some Men for a Boat, it being safer and better than that which they had; but the Men rejected the Offer.

No Wind serving, they thence were obliged to row; But about Break of Day on the 11th, the Wind rising, they hoisted Sail, and, wanting Food, made Drummack (in *Erse* Stappack) with salt Water mixed with Meal; of which the Pr. ate heartily. The Pr. then called for a Bottle of Brandy, and gave a Dram to each Person.

Soon after this they were chased by an *English* Ship commanded by Capt. *Ferguson*, but made their Escape among the Rocks at the Point of *Roudil*, in the *Harris*, in *Macleod's* Country. The Ship followed them three Leagues. They then kept close on Shore, and sailed to *Lochmaddy* to the South of *Uist*; thence to *Lochniskiway* in *Benbecula*; and thence to an Island in that Loch called *Loch-Escaby*, where they arrived about Four in the Afternoon.

In this Voyage they were within two Musket-shot of the Ship before they saw her at *Finslay* in the *Harris*:
They

They were to the Windward, and the Ship was in the Mouth of the Bay; so they made all the Haste they could to the Coast of *Benbecula*.

In this Course they saw another Ship in *Lochmaddy* in *North-Uist*. They had scarce got on Shore when the Wind very remarkably turned quite contrary, and blew and rained very hard, and drove the Ships that were pursuing quite off. At this the Pr. said, "I see Providence will not let me be taken alive this Time."

It being low Water, one of the Boatmen went among the Rocks, and caught a Partan *, which he held up to show to the Pr. in great Joy. The Pr. then took up a Cog † in his Hand, and, running to the Boatman, desired to partake of his Diversion, and they soon filled the Cog.

There was no House, Cottage or Hut nearer than two Miles, and that only a poor Hut; whither they resolved to go.

When they set out, the Pr. took up the Cog full of Partans, and marched away with it; but the faithful *Donald Macleod*, soon ran after him, and desired Leave to carry it; but the Pr. would not let him, saying, "If I carry this, *Donald*, then every one of the Company will take more or less of our small Baggage, and so it will be more equally divided amongst us; therefore I'll not part with this." And accordingly he carried it.

When they came to the Hut, it was so low that they were obliged to creep into it upon their Hands and Knees: Wherefore *Edward Burk* was ordered to dig Part of the Ground away, to make it easier to get into it.

At this Hut the Laird of *Clanranald* went to pay his Respects to the Pr. and promised him all the Assistance he could give him to get him safe out of the Kingdom: Towards which his Lady afterwards assisted; for she sent the Pr. six good Shirts, some Brandy and Wine, and every Thing else that was necessary and comfortable; as we shall see in the Sequel.

On the 16th, it was thought proper that the Pr. should remove from this nasty Hut, and go sixteen Miles farther

B 2

* A Crab-fish.

† A Wooden Pail.

ther into the Country, as far as the Mountain of *Curra-dale* or *Coradale*, in *South-Uist*, and there wait till Fortune would be more favourable; having first sent *Donald Macleod*, in *Campbell's Boat*, to the Continent of *Scotland*, with Letters to *Lochiel*, and *John Murray* the Secretary, to know how Affairs stood; and *Donald* was to carry Cash and Brandy back with him to the Pr.

Donald met *Lochiel* and *Murray* at the Head of *Loch-Arkaig*; but got no Money from *Murray*, who said, "He had none to give, having only sixty Louis-d'ors for himself."

Donald, having received his Letters from *Lochiel* and *Murray* for the Pr. purchased two Ankers of Brandy, at one Guinea each, with much Difficulty. "At this Time (says *Donald*) the Pr. looked upon *Murray* to have been one of his honest firm Friends: But, alas! how he was mistaken!"

Donald immediately returned, and found the Pr. at *Coradale* where he left him, having been eighteen Days away upon this Expedition; but found him in a better Hut, and having two Cow-hides placed upon four Sticks, to prevent the Rain from falling upon him when asleep. During *Macleod's* Absence, the Pr. diverted and supported himself and Company with Hunting, Shooting and Fishing; for he used often to go down to the Foot of the Hill upon the Shore, and there go on board a small Boat, which was rowed a little Way, and then with Hand-lines caught Lyths, somewhat like a young Cod. The Pr. also used to shoot Deer and other Game.

It is surprising to think that the Pr. could be kept safe above three Weeks in such a Place, when upwards of an hundred People knew where he was, and his Enemies were daily out upon the Scout on all Sides. Both *Clanranald* and his Brother *Boisdale* saw the Pr. at *Coradale*.

The Militia about this Time went to the Island of *Eriska*, lying between the Islands of *Barra* and *South-Uist*, which is about three Miles long and one broad, and is the very first *British* Ground the Pr. landed at. The Militia, I say, being got thither, obliged the Pr. and Company to think of parting, and shifting their Quarters.

On the 14th of *June*, the Pr. *Oneille*, *Sullivan*, *Edward*

ward *Burk*, and his Pilot *Donald Macleod*, sailed from the Foot of *Coradale* in *Campbell's Boat*, and landed in *Ouia* or *Fovaya*, an Island lying between *South-Uist* and *Benbecula*.

Here they staid four Nights; and, on the 18th, the *Pr. Oneille*, and a Guide, went to *Rossinish*, and *Sullivan* and *Macleod* were left in *Ouia*. Here the *Pr.* staid two Nights; and then received Information, that the Militia were coming towards *Benbecula*. On this he found it necessary to get back again to the Foot of *Coradale*; but he scarce knew what to do, as the Militia-boats had been some Time between *Ouia* and *Rossinish*. *Donald Macleod* and *Sullivan*, hearing of this, set sail in the Night, and brought the *Pr.* from *Rossinish* to *Coradale* again: But, meeting with a violent Storm and heavy Rain, they were forced into *Uishnefs Point*, two Miles and a half North of *Coradale*, called *Achkirside-allich*, a Rock upon the Shore; in a Cleft of which they took up their Quarters. This Storm lasted a whole Day.

At Night, finding their Enemies within two Miles of them, they sailed again, and arrived safely at *Celieftiella*; from whence they steered towards *Loch-Boisdale*, when one on board swore there was a Long-boat before them in their Way, and no doubt full of Marines; so would go no farther, although *Donald Macleod* was positive of the contrary; assuring them, that it was nothing but a little Rock in the Water, which he knew very well, and which had the Appearance of a Boat at a Distance: But yet the Sailors would not believe him. So they returned back again to *Celieftiella*, and staid there that Night; and next Day got to *Loch-boisdale*; where they got the Disagreeable News of *Boisdale's* being made a Prisoner, &c. When they first set out from *Coradale* for *Loch-Boisdale*, they espied three Sail within Cannon-shot of the Shore, by Break of Day; and therefore were obliged to return back again to *Celieftiella*, in *South-Uist*.

One Day, as the *Pr.* was sailing up and down *Loch-Boisdale*, *Donald Macleod* asked the *Pr.* "If he once got the *C——n*, what he would do with Sir *Alexander Macdonald* and the Laird of *Macleod*?"——
 "Oh, *Donald*! (said the *Pr.*) are they not our own
 " People

“ People still, let them do whatever they will ? It is
 “ not to be imputed as their Fault what they have
 “ done ; but it is altogether owing to the Power Prefi-
 “ dent *Forbes* has over their Judgments in these Mat-
 “ ters. Besides, (continues he,) if ever the K—— was
 “ r——d, we should be as sure of them for Friends
 “ as any other whomsoever, they being for those in
 “ Power. I blame indeed, (says the Pr.) young *Mac-*
 “ *leod* much more than his Father ; for he was intro-
 “ duced to me in *France*, and solemnly promised me
 “ all the Service in his Power ; but, when put to the
 “ Trial, did not perform the least Tittle of it.”

While they were here, *Donald Macleod* espied two Sail, which he took for *French* Ships, but they proved to be *English* Men of War ; which however gave them no Trouble.

Here the Pr. rested some Days, and found himself in a most dreadful Situation ; for he had got Intelligence, that Captain *Caroline Scot* had landed at *Kilbride*, within less than two Miles of him. This obliged the Pr. to part from his constant Attendants, *Sullivan*, his faithful Pilot *Donald Macleod*, and his Guide *Edward Burk*, and all the Boat's Crew ; keeping only *Oneille* : And two Shirts was all their Baggage.

When he parted with *Donald Macleod*, it was with a full Resolution to meet again at a certain Place, but by different Roads. *Donald* then went South about ; but all the Men left him, except one : Upon which he was obliged to sink the Boat, and shift as well as he could for himself.

The others, after parting with the Pr. staid in the Field two Nights, having only the Sails of the Boat for a Cover. On the third Night, they went farther into the Loch, and rested thereabouts for other two Nights ; when they got Sight of some of the Red-coats ; which then forced them to the North-side of the Loch.

On the 5th of *July*, *Donald Macleod* was taken Prisoner by *Allan Macdonald* of *Knock* in *Sleat*, in the Isle of *Sky*, a Lieutenant ; who, at the same Time, took Mr. *Macdonald* of the Family of *Glenaladale*, and Mr. *Forrest* a *Romish* Priest.

They were carried from Place to Place, and at last to *Applecross* Bay, opposite to the Isle of *Sky* ; and there put

put on board the *Furnace*, Captain *Ferguson*, *Donald Macleod* was immediately carried into the Cabin, to Gen. *Campbell*, who examined him very circumstantially.

The General asked him, "If he had been along with the young Pretender?"—"Yes, (said *Donald*,) I winna deny it."—"Do you know (said the General) what Money was upon that Gentleman's Head? No less than 30,000 *l. Sterling*; which would have made you and your Family happy for ever."—"What then? (replied *Donald*,) what though I had gotten it? I could not have enjoyed it for two Days; Conscience would have gotten the better of me: And although I could have gotten all *England* and *Scotland* for my Pains, I would not have allowed a Hair of his Body to be touched, if I could hinder it; since he threw himself under my Care." The General said, "He could not much blame him;" or Words to that Effect.

Donald was conveyed on Ship-board to *Tilbury Fort*, and thence removed to *London*; and at last was discharged out of a Messenger's Hands (where he had been a little Time) on the 10th of *June* 1747; which he said he would ever after celebrate as the Day of his Deliverance.

Edward Burk, after parting from the Pr. went over *North-Strand* to *North-Uist*, his native Country; where he skulked in a Hill called *Eval*, for near seven Weeks; twenty Days of which he had not any Meat, except Dillse and Lampocks †. About this Time a Paper had been read in all the Kirks, strictly forbidding all Persons to give so much as a Mouthful of Meat to any Rebel, upon Penalty of making them suffer very severely. — Thus the Place appointed to preach the Doctrine of *Christ*, was prostituted to prevent any Person from feeding the Hungry, or clothing the Naked, &c.

After various Distresses, occasioned chiefly by this Order, he at last was obliged to hide himself in a Cave, in *North-Uist*; where he was fed by a Shoe-maker's Wife in the Night; and, after various Troubles, is now safe, and carries a Chair at *Edinburgh*; not being excepted in the general Act of Grace.

Donald

† A Kind of Shell-fish,

Donald Macleod says, " That the Pr. never slept above three or four Hours at a Time; and in the Morning called for a Chopin [a Quart] of Water, which he drank off at once; first instilling a few Drops out of a little Bottle, which indeed he did, into every Thing that he drank."

Thus far, Reader, this Account is taken from the Journals, and from the Mouths of both *Donald Macleod* and *Edward Burk* in Scotland; which, after it was wrote down, was read to them, and acknowledged to be true and just.

The Pr. having only *Oneille* with him, now retired to the Mountains, where he lay that Night, being June 18th; and next Day he received Information, that *Gen. Campbell* was at *Bernera*, an Island about two Miles long and one broad, lying between *North-Uist* and the *Harris*, and belongs to the *Macleods*.

The Pr. had now military Forces on both the Land Sides of him, and the Sea on the others, without any Kind of Vessel to venture to Sea in securely.

In this Perplexity, Captain *Oneille* thought proper to apply to a young Lady called *Flora Macdonald*; who was gone to her Brother's at *Milton*, in *South-Uist* from the Isle of *Sky*, to make him a Visit. Here *Oneille*, having some little Acquaintance with this young Lady, proposed to her to assist the Pr. to escape from thence.

Miss *Flora Macdonald* is Daughter of _____ *Macdonald* of *Milton*, in the Island of *Uist*, descended from *Clanranald's* Family. Her Father died when she was but one Year old, and left one Son and her. Her Mother married again to one *Hugh Macdonald* of *Armadale*, in the Isle of *Sky*; and has by him two Sons, and two Daughters. This Gentleman is esteemed the strongest Man of the Name of *Macdonald*.

Miss *Flora* is about Twenty-four Years of Age, of a middle Stature, well shaped, a very pretty agreeable Person, of great Sprightliness in her Looks; and abounds with good Sense, Modesty, Good-nature and Humanity.

Oneille desired this Lady to go along with him to the Pr. and to concert with him, what would be the best to be done. She objected very much at first, for Reasons which she offered. But *Oneille* convincing her, that the

the Pr.'s Situation would not admit, either of his going to her, or of any long Delay ; she then at last complied : And taking her faithful Servant *Neil Mackechan*, originally *Maclean*, with her, she accompanied the Captain to the Pr. where every Thing necessary was concerted, and Miss promised to use her utmost to put the Scheme in execution, provided another Method failed, which she then contrived for them : And then she returned to *Milton* again. *Oneille* promised to get about what she had proposed immediately, and to let Miss *Macdonald* know the Answer. *Oneille* tried ; but could not bring the other Scheme to bear : So he then went to *Milton*, to acquaint Miss *Macdonald* therewith ; who ordered him to return back to the Pr. with a Message.

Pursuant to the Plan laid down, Miss *Flora* set forwards on *Saturday*, *June 21.* for *Clanranald's* House, to get Things necessary for the Pr.'s Disguise, &c. In going to cross one of the Fords, she and her Man, *Neil Mackechan*, were taken Prisoners by a Party of Militia, because they had no Passports. She demanded to see their Officer : But, being told he would not be there till next Morning, she asked what his Name was ; and then finding he was her Stepfather, she chose to stay there all Night, till he should arrive next Day, rather than answer their Questions : So she was carried into the Guard-room, and kept Prisoner till relieved by her Father-in-law ; who arrived in the Forenoon on *Sunday*, *June 22.* and was not a little surprised to see Miss *Flora* in Custody.

Miss *Macdonald* took him aside, and told him what she was about ; and desired a Passport for herself, her Man *Mackechan*, and for one *Betty Burk*, a Woman who was a good Spinner ; and, as her Mother had a great Quantity of Lint to spin, she also desired a Letter to recommend *Betty Burk* to her : All which her Father-in-law consented to. And then Miss proceeded on her Journey to *Clanranald's* House, where she acquainted Lady *Clanranald* with the Design, who was ready to give all the Assistance in her Power.

Here Miss staid till *Friday* the 27th ; during which Time, *Oneille* passed and repassed several Times with Messages betwixt the Pr. Lady *Clanranald*, and Miss *Flora*.

The Time appointed being come, Lady *Clanranald*, another *Macdonald*, Miss *Flora*, and her Man *Mackechan*, conducted by *Oneille*, all went to where the Pr. was, at eight Miles Distance; and carried with them the Pr.'s new Dress, and some other Things, to serve him in his Voyage; particularly, a Part of a Bottle of White Wine, being all that the military People had left *Clanranald*. This the Pr. took especial care off, and would not Taste one Drop of it, but preserved it for his female Guide.

When they arrived there, the Pr. was in a little Hut or House, assisting in the roasting his Dinner, which was composed of the Heart, Liver and Kidneys of a Sheep, or Bullock, upon a wooden Spit.

Oneille introduced the Pr.'s Visitors to him, where they dined; and, at Table, the Pr. placed Miss *Flora* on the right, and Lady *Clanranald* on his left Hand; and all the Company ate very heartily.

Next Morning they heard of Gen. *Campbell's* Arrival at *Benbecula*: And soon after, a Servant came in a great Hurry to Lady *Clanranald*, and acquainted her, "That Captain *Ferguson*, with an advanced Party of the *Campbell's* Men, were at her House; and that the Captain lay in her Bed last Night."

This obliged her to return immediately: So, after taking Leave of the Pr. she set forwards to her own House; where she was scarce arrived, before *Ferguson* began to examine her very strictly. "Where have you been?" says he. She replied, "To see a Child that has been sick, but is now better again." The Captain asked many more Questions, such as, "Where the Child lived? How far it was off from thence, &c." Lady *Clanranald* was taken Prisoner soon after, and put on board a Man of War; and her Husband was taken and put on board another, and conveyed to the *Thames*; where, after lying some time, they were carried up to *London*, and detained there, in Custody of a Messenger; the first, at Mr. *Money's*; and the latter was, on the 1st of *November*, taken into the Custody of Mr. *William Dick*, along with his Brother of *Boisdale*, Capt. *Malcolm Macleod*, and *Roger Macneal* of *Barra*, Esq; In *June* following, both he and his Lady were dismissed without being asked a Question. At the same time, Mr. *Dick* brought,

brought, from on board of a Ship, *John Gordon*, Esq; eldest Son of the famous *Glenbucket*, who was accused of reviewing his Father's Troops, although, by the Help of Dr. T——r, he had been quite blind six Years before. He was also discharged in *June* following, without being asked any Questions.

Lady *Clanranald* and the other *Macdonald* being gone, Miss told the Pr. to prepare, for it was time to go. On which *O'Neill* begged hard to go with them; but Miss *Flora* would on no account consent; because there would be too many of them together, and they might therefore be the more taken notice of. So the Pr. and he took leave of each other in an affectionate Manner.

The Company being gone, Miss *Macdonald* desired the Pr. to put on his new Attire, which was soon done: And, at a proper Time, they removed their Quarters, and went near the Water-side, where their Boat was nigh at hand afloat, to be ready to embark in, in case of any sudden Attack from the Shore.

Here they arrived in a very wet Condition, and made a Fire upon a Piece of a Rock, to keep themselves warm till Night. They had not been there long, before they were alarmed by four Wherries full of armed Men, approaching towards the Shore. At this Sight they extinguished their Fire as fast as they could, and concealed themselves in the Heather †. Their Fears on this Account were however soon over; for the Wherries sailed by, to the Southward, within Gunshot of where they lay, without ever stopping.

On the 28th of *June*, about Eight o'Clock in the Evening, they set out in very clear Weather; but had not been gone above a League, before the Sea became very rough, and at last tempestuous. The Pr. finding Miss and the Sailors begin to be uneasy at their Situation, sung them several Songs; among the rest an old Song made many Years ago, on Occasion of K. *Charles's* Restoration. By this, and some merry Stories, the Pr. kept up their Spirits very well.

Next Morning the Boatmen knew not where they were, having no Compass, and the Wind varying several Times in the Night, though it was then again calm. At last however they made the Point of *Waternish*, in

the West Corner of *Sky*, where they soon tried to land; but found the Place possessed by a Body of Forces, who had also three Boats or Yawls near the Shore. A Man on board of one of these Boats fired at the Pr. and Company, to make them bring to; but they rowed away as fast as they could, being all the Chance they had to escape, because there were several Men of War within Sight; which would inevitably have followed, had it not been providentially very calm, and the Ships were at some Distance. The Militia in the three Boats, for want of Oars, could not pursue; but however they sent up to alarm the People in a little Town not far off. Notwithstanding the Storm, Miss *Macdonald* was so fatigued, that she fell asleep in the Bottom of the Boat. The Pr. observing it, sat close by her, and watched lest any Thing should fall upon her, or that any of the Boatmen in the dark should step upon her: But the Sea was so rough that she could not sleep long.

They got safe into a Creek, or Cliff in a Rock; and there remained to rest the Men, who had been all Night at Work; and, at the same time, to get some Refreshment. However, as soon as they could, they set forwards again, lest the Alarm given to the Village, should bring down the People upon them: Which would have been the Case had they staid; for they had not gone far, before they observed the People approaching to the Place they had so lately left.

From this Place they went, and landed at *Kilbride*, in *Troternish*, in the Isle of *Sky*, about twelve Miles North from the above mentioned Point. In this Neighbourhood there were also several Militia in Search of the Pr. whose commanding Officer, Lieutenant *Macleod*, was at Sir *Alexander Macdonald's*, the very House Miss *Flora* was going to; but she did not know the Officer was there till she saw him.

At the Boat here Miss *Macdonald* left the Pr. and went with her Servant to *Mouggestot*, the Seat of Sir *Alexander Macdonald*; but he was not at home, being then with the Duke of *Cumberland*. Miss sent into the Room to Lady *Margaret*, Sir *Alexander's* Lady, to let her know she was come; Miss having before apprised my Lady of her Errand, by one Mrs. *Macdonald*, who went a little before Miss *Flora* for that Purpose.

Miss

Miss was soon introduced into the Room where the Company were; amongst whom was the Commanding Officer of the Forces in that Neighbourhood; who, after some time, asked Miss, "Whence she came? Which Route she was going? And what News she heard, &c." All which she answered as she thought proper, and very readily: So that he had not the least Suspicion, at that Time, of what Miss was about, especially as he saw when she went away, that she had only one Servant with her, who, he was certain, could not be the Pr.

Miss *Macdonald*, having told Lady *Margaret*, where she had left the Pr. and the Situation he was in, my Lady was at a loss what to do; but, as Mr. *Macdonald* of *Kingsborough*, Sir *Alexander's* Steward or Factor, was in the House, she applied to him, and desired he would conduct the Pr. to *Kingsborough*, which he readily complied with, and sent a Boy down to the Boat, with Instructions to shew the Pr. to a Place about a Mile distant from the Boat; whither he himself would go, and be there ready to attend the Pr. The Boy went off directly; and *Kingsborough*, taking some Wine and other Refreshment for the Pr. soon after set out for the Place of Rendezvous; leaving Miss *Flora* with Lady *Margaret*.

When Miss *Flora* thought the Pr. and *Kingsborough* might be got to some Distance, she then made a Motion to go, and ordered her Horses out directly. But Lady *Margaret* pressed her strongly before the Officer to stay, telling her at the same Time, "That she, (Miss *Flora*) had promised to stay the next Time she came, "when she was last there." But Miss begged her Ladyship to excuse her this one Time; "because (says she) "I have been some time away, and my Mother is not "very well, and entirely alone in these troublesome "Times." At last Lady *Margaret* excused her; but only upon renewing her former Promise, to make Amends the next Time she went thither; which Miss very willingly complied with.

Every Thing being ready, Miss *Flora* and her Servant, Mrs. *Macdonald* afore-mentioned, and her Servant and Maid, all set forwards. They had not gone far before they overtook the Pr. and *Kingsborough*. Mrs. *Macdonald* was very desirous of seeing the Pr.'s Face; which

which he as carefully avoided, by turning it to the opposite Side : But, however, she had several Opportunities of seeing it, as much as he was disguised.

Mrs. *Macdonald's* Maid could not keep her Eyes off the Pr. and said to Miss *Flora*, " I think I never saw " such an impudent-looking Woman as *Kingsborough* is " walking with. I dare say she is either an *Irish* Wo- " man, or a Man in Womens Cloaths." Miss *Macdo-* *nald* replied, " She was an *Irish* Woman ; for she " knew her, having seen her before." — " Bless me, " (quoth the Maid,) what long Strides the Jade takes ! " and how awkwardly she manages her Petticoats! &c."

Miss *Macdonald* not liking the Maid's Observations, and knowing they were near the Place where the Pr. and *Kingsborough* were to turn out of the common Road, and that it was not proper to let Mrs. *Macdonald's* Man and Maid Servant see which Route the Pr. and *Kingsborough* took ; she therefore called out to Mrs. *Macdonald* to ride faster ; " for, (says she,) we shall be " late out." This was complied with ; and they soon lost Sight of the two on Foot ; who, presently after, turned out of the common Road, to avoid the Militia, and went over the Hills S. S. E. till they arrived at *Kingsborough's* House, which was about Eleven o'Clock at Night, on Sunday, June 29. in a very wet Condition, having had much Rain, and having walked seven long Miles. Miss *Macdonald* arrived about the same Time along the Highway, having parted with Mrs. *Macdonald*, her Servant and Maid.

Oneille, after parting from Miss *Macdonald*, went and met *Sullivan*, who was yet upon the Island ; when, about two Days after the Pr. and *Oneille* had parted, a French Cutter, having 120 Men on board, went to the Isle of *South-Uist*, intending to carry off the Pr. who they were informed was there. *Sullivan* went immediately on board ; while *Oneille* went to seek for the Pr. hoping he might meet with him before he and Miss *Macdonald* should leave the Island. But *Oneille*, finding the Pr. had left the Island two Days before, returned to the Place where he had left the Cutter. But, unhappily for him, the Vessel was gone about three Hours before : For the timorous *Sullivan*, having a fair Wind, had not Courage to stay, and try to save the Pr. and *O-*
neille ;

neille ; but set sail directly, lest he should be taken, and lose his precious Life. There were two small Wherries, just within Sight ; which might indeed, in some measure, excuse *Sullivan's* Hurry. Both the Wherries were filled with thirty armed Men, which were sent out by an *English* Officer after this very Cutter ; but could not get near her.

Oneille was soon after taken Prisoner : But, being a foreign Officer, was only a Prisoner of War. He was put on board a Man of War ; where, in a little Time after, he saw Miss *Macdonald* a Prisoner also, for doing what he had been the Instrument of bringing about. He was afterwards conveyed to *Berwick* upon *Tweed* ; and, after some Time, sent home according to the Cartel. But to return :

When the Pr. got to *Kingsborough's* House, the Lady *Kingsborough*, not expecting her Husband home after that Time of the Night, was undressed, and just going into Bed ; when one of her Maid-servants went up and told her, “ That *Kingsborough* was returned, and had brought some Company with him.” — “ What Company (says the Lady) ? ” — “ *Milton's* Daughter, I believe, (says the Maid,) and some Company with her.” — “ *Milton's* Daughter (replied Mrs. *Macdonald*) is very welcome here, with any Company she pleases to bring ; but make my Compliments to her, and tell her to be free with any Thing in the House ; for I am sleepy and undressed ; so I can't see her To-night.”

In a short Time, *Kingsborough's* Daughter went up in as great Hurry as Surprise, crying out, “ Mamma ! Mamma ! my Father has brought hither a very odd, muckle, ill-shaken-up Wife † as ever I saw ; nay, and has taken her into the Hall too.”

She had scarce said this before *Kingsborough* himself went into the Room, and desired his Wife to dress again as fast as she could, and get such Meat as they had ready for Supper. — “ Who have you with you, (says Mrs. *Macdonald*) ? ” — “ You shall know that (replied he) in good Time ; only make haste.”

Mrs. *Macdonald* then desired her Daughter to go and fetch

† Tall, tawdry Hussy.

fetch the Keys which she had left in the Hall. The Girl went, and soon ran back again in a great Hurry, and said, "Mamma! Mamma! I can't go in for the Keys; " because the muckle Woman is walking up and down " the Hall, and I am afraid of her, [meaning the Pr.]." Mrs. *Macdonald* then went herself, but " was " so frightened (as she said) at seeing sick a muckle " Trollop of a Carling make sick lang Strides through " the Hall, that she did not like her Appearance;" and then she desired her Husband to fetch them; but he would not: So she was obliged at last to go herself.

When she went into the Room, the Pr. was sitting; but got up immediately, and saluted her. Mrs. *Macdonald* then began to tremble, having found a rough Beard, imagining that it was some distressed Nobleman or Gentleman in disguise; but never dreamed it was the Pr. She therefore went directly out of the Room, with the Keys in her Hand, to her Husband, without saying one Word to the Pr. and greatly importuned *Kingsborough* to tell her who it was; and if he [meaning the Person in disguise] could tell any Thing of what was become of the Pr. *Kingsborough* smiled at her naming the Beard, and told, "My Dear, it is the Pr." — "The Pr.!" (cried she); then we are a' ruined; we " will a' be hanged now." — "Houte, (cried he), " we will die but once; and, if we are hanged for " this, we die in a *good Cause*, doing only an Act of " Humanity and Charity. But go make haste with Sup- " per; bring us Eggs, Butter, Cheese, and whatever " else is ready." "Eggs, Butter and Cheese! (quoth she), what a Supper is that for a Prince!" — "Oh " Wife! (replied he), you little know how this good " Pr. has lived of late; this will be a Feast to him: " Besides, to make a formal Supper, would make the " Servants suspect something; the less Ceremony there- " fore the better; make haste, and come to Supper " yourself." — "I come to Supper! (says she), I " know not how to behave before Maj---y." — "You must come (replied *Kingsborough*); for the Pr. " will not eat one Bit without you; and you'll find it " no difficult Matter to behave before him, so obliging " and easy is he in his Conversation."

I hope the Reader will excuse me for giving this Dialogue

alogue in their own Words ; not being able to give a better Idea of the Figure the Pr. must have made, and of the Distress he was in, than in their own Way of expressing their Meaning.

At Supper, the Pr. placed Miss *Flora* at his right Hand, (always paying her the greatest Respect wherever she was, and always rising up whenever she entered the Room), and Mrs. *Macdonald* at his left. He made a plentiful Supper ; eating four Eggs, some Collops, Bread and Butter ; drank two Bottles of small Beer at Supper ; and then, calling for a Bumper of Brandy, he drank Health and Prosperity to his Landlord and Landlady ; and, after Supper, smoked a Pipe. Having been so much afflicted with the Toothach in his Wanderings, he was obliged to smoke, to obtain some Mitigation of his Pain ; and he was often obliged to use the same Pipe, till it was as black as Ink, and worn or broken to the very Stump. After drinking a few Glasses of Wine, and finishing his Pipe, the Pr. went to Bed.

When the Pr. and *Kingsborough* were going from *Muggestot* to *Kingsborough*, the Pr. said, " He proposed going to the Laird of *Macleod's*, as being a Place " the Government-people would not suspect." But *Kingsborough* would not agree to that ; and gave some of his Reasons to support his Opinion. " What ! (says the Pr.), do you think that *Macleod*, to his former Doings, would add that of thirsting after my Blood ?" — " I am not certain of that, (replied *Kingsborough*), " but I have received a Letter from the Laird of *Macleod* ; wherein he desires me to deliver you up, if " you should fall into my Way ; and said, I should " thereby do a great Service to my Country." The Pr. therefore soon dropt that Project. Some time after this, the Laird of *Macleod* asked *Kingsborough* for this Letter again : But *Kingsborough* absolutely refused to give it to him ; and farther said, " He would keep THAT, to " shew what Part *Macleod* acted, under *Macleod's* own " Hand."

Kingsborough, amongst other Things, asked the Pr. " If he looked upon Lord *George Murray* to have acted " a treacherous Part ?" and he replied, " He believed " not."

Kingsborough also said to the Pr. " That he [*Kingsborough*] could not conceive what it was that made " him go that Day to *Mouggestot*, [*Sir Alexander's House*] ; for he had no manner of Business there, " nor owed any Visit."——" I'll tell you, (said the Pr.), you could not avoid going ; for I have been " the particular Care of Providence, which sent you " thither on my Account, there being no Person else " who could assist me."

Both *Kingsborough*, his Wife, and Miss *Flora Macdonald*, were particularly asked, Whether the Pr. had the Itch, as some of the Scribblers gave out ? And they all declared, they never saw a Person freer from it, not having a Spot to be seen ; which they wondered at, considering what he had undergone.

After the Pr. was gone to bed, Mrs. *Macdonald* desired Miss *Flora* to relate the Pr.'s Adventures as far as she knew of them, which she did : And, when she had concluded her Story, Mrs. *Macdonald* asked her, " What was become of the Boatmen who brought " them to that Island ?" Miss replied, " They went " back again directly for *South-Uist*."——" That was " wrong, (says Mrs. *Macdonald*) ; for you should have " kept them on this Side, for some time at least, till " the Pr. could have got farther from his Pursuers."

As Mrs. *Macdonald* conjectured, so it proved : For the Boatmen were immediately seized on their Return ; and, being threatened with the Torture, or Death, (both which are absolutely against our Law, but is what we must expect when ruled by those we pay) ; by these Threats and Torture, I say, the Men revealed all they knew ; and gave a Description of the Gown, being a Linen or Cotton Gown, with purple Sprigs thickly stamped, and a white Apron. This Thought of Mrs. *Macdonald* determined Miss *Flora* to desire the Pr. to change his Dress, as we shall find presently he did ; being himself not willing to march any farther in that Dress, having found it too troublesome the Day before.

This great Feast which the Pr. had got, being the most material Refreshment he had met with for a long Time, agreed so well with him, that he slept nine or ten Hours without Interruption ; whereas commonly he seldom required above three or four Hours Rest.

Morning

Morning being come and far advanced, Miss *Macdonald* began to be afraid, lest the Pr. lying too long, should give his Enemies Time to overtake him ; and therefore desired *Kingsborough* to go into his Room, and call him up ; who, with much Persuasion, went ; But, finding the Pr. in so sound a Sleep, would not awaken him ; and so retired quietly out of the Room again. But, every Thing being soon after ready for his Journey, Miss *Macdonald* insisted, that *Kingsborough* should call him up ; with which he complied : And, having awakened the Pr. asked him how he had rested. And the Pr. replied, “ Never better in my Life ; for I have not “ slept in a Bed a long Time before this.”

Although the Pr. was to change his Dress, it was thought necessary to leave the House in the same Habit he arrived ; because, in case of a Pursuit, it would prevent the Servants from describing the Dress he was to travel in.

When the Pr. had dressed himself, except his Head, the Ladies went into his Chamber to pin his Cap, put on his Apron, and to dress his Head. Before Miss put on the Cap, Mrs. *Macdonald* desired her in *Erse*, to ask the Pr. for a Lock of his Hair ; which Miss refused to do, saying, “ Can’t you ask him yourself ?” The Pr. finding they were disputing about something, desired to know what it was ; and then Mrs. *Macdonald* told him her Request, which he immediately granted ; and, laying his Head on Miss *Flora*’s Lap, bade her cut off a Lock ; which she did, and gave Mrs. *Macdonald* one Half, and kept the other herself.

The Pr. being dressed, got his Breakfast, took his Leave of his Landlady, and then he and *Kingsborough*, with a Bundle of *Highland* Cloaths under his Arm, went to a Wood-side not far from *Kingsborough*, and there changed his Dress. This being done, the Pr. embraced *Kingsborough* in his Arms, and bade him a long and happy Adieu ; and, in a most affectionate Manner, thanked him for his Services, and assured him he would never forget them. They both wept, and a few Drops of Blood fell from the Pr.’s Nose. *Kingsborough* then sent a Guide with the Pr. to *Portree* or *Purtree*, that is, in *Erse*, *Port-Ree*, *King’s-Port*, through all the By-ways, while Miss *Flora* went on Horseback by another

Road, thereby the better to gain Intelligence, and to prevent a Discovery. This Place is seven long Miles from *Kingsborough*.——The Gown the Pr. had on, was a Linen, or Cotton, having a white Ground, with Purple-coloured Flowers †.

Kingsborough had sent a Person before, to procure a Boat, and every Thing else necessary towards the Pr.'s Escape. The Pr. being arrived safe here, again met his female Preservatrix; and this was the last Time they saw each other. The Pr. and Miss *Macdonald* were both very wet; and staid no longer there, than to dry their Cloaths, and to get such little Refreshment as the Place afforded, which took up about two Hours Time: And then the Pr. took Leave of Miss *Flora Macdonald*, returning her his sincere Thanks for her kind Assistance; and greatly lamented that he had not a *Macdonald* to go on with him to the End.

According to my Method hitherto, I must give the Reader the remaining History of *Kingsborough* and Miss *Macdonald*, before I go any further with the Pr.

About six or eight Days after the Pr. left *Sky*, Capt. *Ferguson* followed him in hot Pursuit. And from the Boatmen who were taken at, or in their Return to *South-Uist*, having got an exact Description of the Gown and Dress the Pr. had on, pursued to Sir *Alexander Macdonald's* House, and there searched very strictly; and, hearing only of Miss *Flora Macdonald*, went to *Kingsborough*, and there examined Mr. and Mrs. *Macdonald*, and Mrs. *Anne Macalaster* their Daughter.

The Captain first found *Kingsborough*, and asked him several Questions, some of which he answered, and others he either could or would not answer; and told the Captain he had better ask Mrs. *Macdonald*, who could give proper Answers. *Kingsborough* accordingly called Mrs. *Macdonald*; and said, "That Captain *Ferguson* was come to ask her some Questions about her late Guests."——"If *Ferguson* (says she) is to be my Judge, then God have mercy on my Soul." *Ferguson*

† Mr. *Stewart Carmichael*, near *Leith*, had a Stamp made exactly after this Pattern; and has sold great Numbers, so exactly done as not to be distinguished from the Original, even by Miss *Macdonald* herself,

son asked her why she said so? She replied, "Because the whole World say you are a very cruel, hard-hearted Man: And indeed I don't like to go through your Hands."

Ferguson then asked *Kingsborough*, where Miss *Macdonald*, and the Person in Womens Cloaths who was with her, lay? *Kingsborough* replied, "He knew where Miss *Flora* lay; but as for Servants, he never asked any Questions about them."

The Captain then asked Mrs. *Macdonald*, "Whether she laid the Young Pretender and Miss *Flora* in the same Bed?" To which she answered, "Sir, Whom you mean by the Young Pretender, I do not pretend to guess: But I can assure you, it is not the Fashion in *Sky*, to lay the Mistress and Maid in the same Bed together."——The Captain then desired to see the Rooms wherein each lay; which were shewn: And he then remarked, that the Room the supposed Maid-servant lay in, was better than that wherein the Mistress lay.

Kingsborough was taken Prisoner, and carried to *Fort-Augustus*, and was there plundered of his Shoe-buckles, Garters, Watch, and Money; and, in a few Hours after, thrown into a Dungeon, heavily loaded with Irons. While he was Prisoner, one of the Captains of the *English* Forces went to him, and asked him, "If he could tell the Pr.'s Head if he saw it?" *Kingsborough*, trembling at the Thought of the Pr. being murdered, replied, "He could not engage for that, unless it was joined to the Body." *Kingsborough* was removed hence to *Edinburgh* Castle, under a strong Guard of *Kingston's* Light Horse, who entered the City with Sound of Trumpet, and Beat of Kettle-drums: A Thing very uncommon in such a Case. He was at first put into the same Room with Major *Macdonald*, Mr. *George Moir* Laird of *Leckie*, Mr. *Thomas Ogilvie*, and Mr. *Samuel Thom*; but was soon after removed into a Room by himself, without being allowed to cross the Threshold; and none were permitted to see him, except the Officer upon Guard, the Serjeant, and Keeper; which last was appointed to attend him as Servant. He was here kept till the Act of Grace, and was then discharged on the 4th of *July* 1747; having been confined a Year, for giving one Night's Lodging to the Pr.

Kings-

Kingsborough was once discharged, whilst at *Fort-Augustus*, by Mistake, for another of the same Name; but Lord *Albemarle*, finding out the Mistake, soon sent a Party after him, who overtook him at Sir *Alexander Macdonald's*, just as he was going to bed. By this means he had an Opportunity of hearing from Sir *Alexander's* own Mouth, what a Rage a certain *Great Officer* was in, when he found *Kingsborough* a Prisoner at *Fort-Augustus*; what horrid and shocking Oaths and Imprecations he threw out against *Kingsborough*, for not securing the Pr. and swore, "He would have him hanged at any Rate." All which Sir *Alexander* was a Witness to.

Miss *Macdonald*, having taken Leave of the Pr. left *Portree* immediately, and went to her Mother's at *Sleat*, crossed the Country, and had a very fatiguing Journey; but she neither told her Mother, nor any other Person, what Errand she had been about.

One *Macleod* of *Taliskar*, an Officer in one of the independent Companies, desired one of the *Macdonalds*, who lives four Miles from *Sleat*, to send for Miss *Flora*, and examine her about what had happened. Accordingly, about eight or nine Days after Miss *Flora* got home, she received a Message from this *Macdonald* for her to go to his House as soon as she could.

Miss *Flora*, being not a little suspicious of the Design, thought proper to communicate to her Friends what she had done, and consult them as to what she should do. Upon which they advised her not to go; at least not to go till next Day: But she was resolved to go; and accordingly set out very soon after.

She had not gone far on the Road, before she met her Father-in-law returning home. To him she told every Thing that had happened from her leaving him, in her Way to *Glanranald's* House, to that Time; as also what she was then about, and what she intended to say upon Examination.

She had not gone far after parting from her Father-in-law, before she was taken Prisoner by an Officer and a Party of Soldiers, who were going to her Mother's to search for her. They carried her immediately on board a Ship, without suffering her either to go and

get her Cloaths and Linen, or to take leave of her Friends.

She was carried on board the *Furnace*, Capt. *Ferguson*, which put her under terrible Apprehensions, on Account of that Captain's reputed Inhumanity and Cruelty, which was spread through the whole Country. But, very lucky for her, Gen. *Campbell* was on board, who gave strict Orders, that Miss should be used with the utmost Civility and Respect; that she should have a Maid-servant, and that they two should have one of the Lieutenants Cabbins to themselves, forbidding every Person to go into it without her Leave and Consent. This Favour I have heard Miss *Flora* acknowledge many times.

About three Weeks after she was thus a Prisoner, the Ship being very near her Mother's, Gen. *Campbell* permitted her to go on Shore to take leave of her Friends, but yet in Custody of two Officers and a Party of Soldiers; however she was not to speak any thing in *Erse*, nor any thing except what the Officers heard. So she staid about two Hours, and then returned again to the Ship.

When she went from home, and was taken Prisoner, she, upon her Examination, told, " That she had seen
" a great lusty Woman, who came to the Water-side
" as she [Miss *Flora*] was going into the Boat; and
" told her, that she [the supposed lusty Woman] was
" a Soldier's Wife, and was left on the Island without
" Friends, Meat or Money, and desired that she [Miss
" *Flora*] would give her a Place in the Boat, that she
" might get to the Continent of *Scotland* to her Husband;
" and that she [Miss *Macdonald*] granted the
" Request: And that, when they landed in *Sky*, she
" [Miss *Flora*] went directly to Sir *Alexander Macdonald's*,
" and the lusty Woman went on her own Way,
" thanking her [Miss *Flora*] for the Favour." This Story Miss at first told: But, when she got to General *Campbell*, she found the Boatmen who had conveyed her to *Sky*, were taken, and had told all they knew of the Matter; therefore she acknowledged and told the whole Truth.

Miss *Macdonald* was removed on board Commodore (now Admiral) *Smith's* Ship; where she was exceeding well

well treated, and he was very kind to her: For which, when she was in *London*, she sat for her Picture at his Request.

The Ship on which she was aboard was some time in *Leith Road*: And, from that Time being conveyed from Place to Place, she was at last, on *November 28. 1746*, put on board the *Royal Sovereign*, lying at the *Nore*; whence, on the 6th of *December* following, she was removed to *London*, in Custody of Mr. *William Dick* a Messenger, having been five Months on Ship-board. In this Messenger's Custody she remained till *July 1747*; when she was discharged, without being asked any Questions, and returned to *Edinburgh*.

This Relation is taken from the Remainder of Oneille's Journal, and from the Mouths of Kingsborough, his Lady, and Miss Flora Macdonald.

Having concluded the History of *Kingsborough* and *Miss Macdonald*, I must now return to the Pr. again.

Kingsborough having sent to the Laird of *Rafay*, to desire his Assistance, Capt. *Malcolm Macleod*, (who had been an Officer under the Pr. and was at the Battles of *Falkirk* and *Culloden*), and *Murdoch Macleod*, third Son of *Rafay*, (who was also at the Battle of *Culloden*, and was there wounded in the Shoulder by a Musket-shot), met the Pr. at *Portree*, in the Isle of *Sky*, where *Miss Macdonald* left him. This was on *Monday Night, June 30.* when it was very dark; having come in a small Boat that would only contain six or seven Men.

They staid but a little Time after their Arrival; and then they attended the Pr. to the small Boat, wherein *John Macleod*, the young Laird of *Rafay*, was waiting, being desirous of seeing what sort of Man the Pr. was. They set out immediately; there being in the Boat only the Pr. Capt. *Malcolm Macleod* his Guide, the young Laird of *Rafay*, and his Brother *Murdoch*, the two Boat-men, viz. *John Mackenzie* and *Donald Macfrier*, who had both been out in the Pr.'s Service; the one a Sergeant, and the other a private Man. Early in the Morning on *July 1.* they arrived safe at *Glam in Rafay*, being six Miles †. They staid here two Days and a half,
in

† But I must advertise the Reader, that all the Miles I have, or may mention in this Account, are *Scots Miles*,

in a mean low Hut; and young *Rafay* brought the Pr. a Lamb and a Kid in the Corner of his Plaid. They were obliged to ly on the bare Ground, having only a little Heath for a Pillow.

There was a Man went into this Island to sell a Roll of Tobacco: But, after he had sold the Tobacco, he continued strolling up and down the Island, in an idle Way, for twelve or fourteen Days, without having any apparent Business; which made the People of the Island suspect he was a Spy.

When the Pr. and *Malcolm* were in the Hut, the Captain saw this very Man approaching towards them. On which *Malcolm* was determined to shoot him through the Head, to prevent his going to tell Tales. "No, *Malcolm*, (says the Pr. taking hold of him), God forbid that any innocent Man should suffer by us. If we can but keep ourselves safe, let us not take that from any Person, which we can't restore to him again;" and would not allow the Captain to stir. *Malcolm* had the more Reason to suspect this Man to be a Spy, because this Hut was not near any Road. But however, luckily for the Man, he passed by without ever offering to look into it; which if he had attempted, *Malcolm* was determined to have shot him, in order to preserve themselves.

On July 3. The Pr. proposed going to *Troternish* in *Sky*, although it blew very hard, and had no other than the small Boat above mentioned; and accordingly set forward about Seven o'Clock in the Evening, having the same Company to attend him.

They had not gone far, before the Wind blew harder; and the Crew begged to return back again. But the Pr. encouraged them; and told them, "That as Providence had carried him through so many Dangers, he did not doubt of the same Care as before;" And then sang them a merry *Highland* Song. The Waves washed very frequently into the Boat, and *Malcolm* was sufficiently employed in laving the Water out again.

About Eleven o'Clock at Night they landed at a Place in the Island of *Sky*, called *Nicolson's Great Rock*, near *Scarabreck* in *Troternish*, being about ten Miles from *Glam* in *Rafay*. When they got to the Rock, it was bad Landing; and the Pr. was the third Man who jump-

ed into the Water, and helped to hale the Boat up to dry Ground.

The Pr. had on a great Riding-coat ; which being wet through, and the Rock they were going up being very steep, *Malcolm* desired the Pr. to let him carry it ; But he would by no means Consent ; alledging, " He " was as able to carry it as the Captain." They travelled thus to a Byre † belonging to one Mr. *Nicolson*, about two Miles from *Scorobreck*.

Here the Pr. and Company took up their Quarters ; and *Malcolm* would have had the Pr. to put on a drier Shirt, and take some Sleep. He would not change his Shirt ; but Sleep at last seized him as he sat. He often started in his Sleep ; and, sighing deep, would say, " Ah ! poor *England* ! poor *England* !

The Pr. after some little Time awakend ; and, finding *Malcolm* upon the Watch, earnestly desired him to take some Rest ; who at that Time would not : But, the Pr. renewing his Request again, the Captain thought, perhaps he might want to say something to the Rest of the Company in private ; and therefore the Captain went out for a little Time.

The two Brothers and the Boatmen here left the Pr. and returned ; the Pr. promising to meet the younger at *Cammisinnawagg*, another Place in the same Island.

The Pr. and *Malcolm* staid here eight Hours in all, without any kind of Refreshment, not even so much as a Fire to dry their Cloaths with.

On the 4th, about Seven o'Clock in the Morning, they left the Byre ; the Captain passing for the Master, and the Pr. for the Man, who always carried the little Baggage, whenever they saw any Person, or came near any Village : And' at those Times, whenever he spoke to the Captain, or the Captain to him, he always pulled off his Bonnet.

They marched through the worst Ways in *Europe*, going over Hills, wild Moors and Glens, without halting, till they arrived at *Ellagol*, or rather *Ellighuill*, near to *Killmarree* or *Kilvory* in *Strath* ; and near to a Place in some Maps called *Ord*, in the Laird of *Mackinnon's* Country, and not far from where that Laird lived ; having walked Twenty-four Miles at least.

In

† A Cow-house,

In their Travelling, the Brandy Bottle was near out, having only one Dram in it; which the Pr. would force *Malcolm* to drink, declaring, "He wanted none himself;" which *Malcolm* then took, and afterwards hid the Bottle, which he has found since.

In their Road, the Pr. said, "Suppose, *Malcolm*, we two should meet any Body, who should attempt to kill or take us, what shall we do?" — That depends upon their Numbers, (replied *Malcolm*): For if there be no more than four of them, I'll engage to manage two." — "And I'll engage to manage the other two," (said the Pr.)

The Pr. observing to *Malcolm*, that his own [the Pr.'s] Waistcoat was rather too good for a Servant, being a Scarlet Tartan, with a Gold-twist Button, proposed to change with him; which was accordingly done.

As they were approaching near *Strath*, *Mackinnon's* Country, the Captain suggested to the Pr. that now he was coming to a Country where he would be known, and therefore might be discovered in every Corner of it, as *Mackinnon's* Men had been out in his Service; and that therefore he must be more disguised. To do which, the Pr. put on a dirty Napkin, and his Bonnet over it; putting his Wig into his Pocket. "But nothing (says *Malcolm*) could disguise his majestick Mien and Carriage."

They no sooner were arrived in *Strath*, than they met two of *Mackinnon's* Men who had been out with them in the Expedition. They stared at the Pr. and soon knew him; and, with lifted up Hands, they burst into Tears on seeing him in such Distress. The Captain desired they would take care what they did, and compose themselves; for otherwise they would discover who the Pr. was by their Concern: Which they complied with as well as they could. And then *Malcolm* swearing them to Secrecy, dismissed them; and they proved faithful.

Being come near the Place they proposed going to, *Malcolm* told the Pr. that he had a Sister married to one *John Mackinnon*, a Captain in the Pr.'s Army: And then he advised the Pr. to sit down at a little Distance from the House, whilst he [the Captain] went into the House, and should inquire of his Sister, or her Husband,

whether any of their Enemies were in that Neighbourhood in quest of him? and likewise to know, whether he [*Malcolm*] could be safe there with her; telling the Pr. he was still to pass as his Servant *Lewis Caw*.

Malcolm went, and found his Sister at home; but her Husband was out: And, after the usual Compliments at meeting, he told her, "That he was come to stay some little Time there, provided there was no Party of the military People about them, and that he could be safe." She gave a suitable Answer, and then he told her, "He had no Person along with him, except one *Lewis Caw*, Son of Mr. *Caw* Surgeon in *Grief*, who had been out in the late Affair, and consequently in the same Situation with himself; and that he was to pass as *Malcolm's* Servant." She very readily agreed to take him, and *Lewis Caw*, as the Pr. was called, into the House.

When *Lewis* entered the House with the Baggage on his Back, and the Napkin on his Head, he took off his Bonnet, made a low Bow, and sat at a Distance from his Master. But the Captain's Sister could not help looking at *Lewis*, observing something very uncommon about him.

The Captain desired his Sister to give them some Provisions; for he was almost famished with Hunger. The Provisions were soon set out. And then the Captain called to poor sick *Lewis*, to draw near, and eat with him, as there was no Company in the House. *Lewis* seemed very backward, alledging he knew better Manners. But, his Master ordering him again, he obeyed, and drew nearer; but still kept off his Bonnet.

After having got some Refreshment, the Captain desired the Maid-servant to wash his Feet; which being done, he desired her then to wash his Man's. But she replied, "That though she had washed his [the Captain's], yet she would not wash that lubberly Lown his Servant's. But the Captain told her, "His Servant was not well; and therefore he asked her to do it." She then undertook it; but rubbed his Feet so hard, that she hurt him very much. On which the Pr. spoke to the Captain in *English*, to desire her not to rub so hard, nor go so far up with her Hand, he having only a Philibeg on.

After

After this Refreshment, both the Pr. and the Captain went to sleep. During which Time, the Captain's Sister went to the Top of a Hill, to keep watch, lest they should be surpris'd.

The Pr. did not sleep above two Hours; though the Captain, being weary, slept much longer. But when he awaked, he saw the Pr. dandling a Child, and singing to it, and seem'd as alert as if he had been in Bed all Night. "Who knows (says the Pr.) but this Boy may hereafter be a Captain in my Service?"

The Captain being thoroughly awake, and hearing his Brother-in-law was coming, went out to meet him. After usual Ceremonies, *Malcolm* asked him, "If he saw those Ships of War (pointing to them) that were at a distance hovering about the Coast?"—"Yes," said Mr. *Mackinnon*—"What, says *Malcolm*, if the Pr. be on board of one of them?"—"God forbid, (replied *Mackinnon*)."—"What, said *Malcolm*, if he was here, *John*? do you think he would be safe enough?"—"I wish we had him here, (replied *John*); for he would be safe enough, and nothing would hurt him here."—"Well then, (replied *Malcolm*), he is now in your House: But, when you go in, you must not take any notice of him, lest the Servants or others observe you; for he pass'es for one *Lewis Carw* my Servant."—*John* promised very fair: But he no sooner saw the Pr. in that Condition, than he burst out into a Flood of Tears; which *Malcolm* observing, oblig'd *John* to retire immediately.

When the Pr. and *Malcolm* were alone, the Captain desired he would tell him the Perils he had already escaped. Which being told, *Malcolm* seem'd amazed. Upon which the Pr. replied, "This is nothing to what I am to undergo: But Providence will guard me through the whole, as well as it has hitherto done. What I have undergone, is a Lesson I wish every Pr. underwent before he came to govern; for it would then give him an Insight into the distressed Situation of his Subjects; and be thereby a Means to make him cautious, not wantonly to throw away their Riches."

After much more of this sort of Conversation, they began to consult how the Pr. was to get to the Continent

nent of *Scotland*; and both agreed not to let the Laird of *Mackinnon* know of their being there, on account of his being so old. They then called in *John Mackinnon*, and desired him to go and hire a Boat, as if for *Malcolm* only; and made *John* promise not to communicate any Thing of what he had heard or seen about them to the Laird, if he and *John* should chance to meet.

John having his Instructions, set forwards; but, soon meeting with his old Chieftain, he could not refrain letting him into the Secret.

The good old Man hearing *John's* Relation, ordered him to give himself no Trouble about the Boat; for that he [the Laird] would provide a good one, and would soon be with the Pr.

John returned, and told the Pr. what had happened, and that the Laird would soon be with him. *Malcolm* then said to the Pr. "As the Case now stands, it will be best to leave all the Management to the old Gentleman; who will be firm to his Trust." The Pr. notwithstanding this, was uneasy at the Thought of parting with his faithful Captain. But *Malcolm* represented to the Pr. that, as he [the Captain] had been some time absent, the military People might pursue him upon Suspicion; and, if so, he might be the Cause of the Pr.'s being taken also. "But, if I return, and should be taken Prisoner, (said *Malcolm*), which may very likely be the Case, it will yet enable me to prevent so quick a Pursuit after you; because, as I am alone, I can tell my own Tale without being confronted, and can send them upon a wrong Scent. For myself (continued *Malcolm*) I care not; but for you I am much afraid. And, as I can do you more Service by leaving, than staying with you, I desire you'll follow the Laird of *Mackinnon's* Directions." The Pr. at last consented; and just at that Time the old Gentleman got to them, and told them he had got the Boat ready. Upon which they set out for it directly; being accompanied thither by *John Mackinnon* also, who even went with his Laird to the Continent of *Scotland*, and saw the Pr. safe landed there.

As they were on their Way towards the Boat, the Captain espied two Men of War coming towards them with full Sail before the Wind: And thereupon "he
" intreated

“ intreated the Pr. not to attempt to go on board at
 “ that Time, but to wait till the Men of War had
 “ steered another Course ; for just now [continues
 “ *Malcolm*] the Wind is fair for them, but against
 “ you.”——“ Never fear, replied the Pr. I have not
 “ had so many Escapes to be catchèd here ; I’ll go on
 “ board ; and you’ll find the Wind will change imme-
 “ diately, and make those very Ships steer a contrary
 “ Course. Providence will yet take care of me ; and
 “ it will not be in the Power of those Ships to come
 “ near me at this Juncture.”

By this Time they werè got to the Sea-side. And
 the Pr. being about to step into the Boat, being Eight
 o’Clock at Night, turned suddenly to *Malcolm*, and said,
 “ Don’t you remember I promised to meet *Murdoch*
 “ *Macleod* at such a Place, naming it ?”——“ No
 “ matter, [said the Captain] ; I’ll make your Apology :
 “ For, as Necessity drives you another Road, he’ll ex-
 “ cuse you.”——“ That’s not enough, (replied the
 “ Pr.) Have you Pen, Ink and Paper about you, *Mal-*
 “ *colm* ? I’ll write him a Line or two ; I’m obliged in
 “ good Manners to do so,” Accordingly he wrote the
 following Words :

Sir,

*I thank GOD, I am in good Health, and have got
 off as designed. Remember me to all Friends, and
 thank them for the Trouble they have been at.*

I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

JAMES THOMPSON.

The Pr. then gave this Letter into the Captain’s own
 Hand, and desired him to deliver it, though open ; for
 he had neither Wax nor Wafer with him.

The Pr. then desired *Malcolm* to light his Pipe. Ac-
 cordingly the Captain fired a Piece of Tow with his
 Gun, and held it to the Pipe.

At parting, the Pr. presented *Malcolm* with a Silver
 Stock-buckle ; embraced and saluted him twice ; and,
 thanking him for what he had done, put ten Guineas
 into his Hand, which the Captain refused ; but the Pr.
 forced him to take them. Here also, the Pr. having got
 a better

a better Pipe, had no farther Occasion for the short one, which was black with Use, and which was called the *Cutty*. This *Malcolm* took, and some time after gave it to a Friend of his in *England*.

Having taken leave of *Malcolm*, the Pr. the old Laird of *Mackinnon*, *John Mackinnon*, (*Malcolm's* Brother-in-law), and the Boatmen, all went on board in the Evening of *Friday* the 4th Day of *July*.

What the Pr. had said to *Malcolm* about the Wind soon changing fair, and being spoken with such Confidence, made so great an Impression upon *Malcolm*, that he was determined to sit down upon a Hill-side, and see the Event. He waited, and does declare, "That the Pr.'s Crew had not rowed half a Mile, and that towards the Men of War too, before the Wind chopped about; and not only blew fair for the Pr. but blew so brisk a Gale, that it soon drove the Men of War out of Sight." The Truth of this, both Capt. *Malcolm*, and those in the Boat, will attest upon Oath, if required.

I must observe here, that it is no difficult Matter, in many Cases, to foretel a speedy Change of the Wind; for almost any Sailor can do that: But what is the most providential for the Pr. is, that it should be about to change at the very identical Time he was going on board.

As the Captain had seen the Pr. in the Height of Prosperity, and in the greatest Adversity, a worthy Clergyman of my Acquaintance asked him his Opinion of that young Gentleman. His Answer was, "That the Pr. was the most cautious Man he ever saw, not to be a Coward; and the bravest, not to be rash."

Capt. *Malcolm* returned home again; but was not many Days there, before he was taken Prisoner. He was detained on board a Ship, conveyed into the *Thames*, and, on the 1st of *November* 1746, was removed to *London*, and there kept in the Hands of Mr. *William Dick* a Messenger, till *July* 1747; and then was discharged without being asked any Questions. He had cleared himself of taking Arms in behalf of the Pr. by surrendering with his Men, according to the Duke of *Cumberland's* Proclamation. He and Miss *Macdonald* returned to *Scotland* together. All this Account was given

given by Captain Malcolm Macleod himself; and was wrote down as he dictated.

I observed, that the Pr. left the Island for the Continent of Scotland the 4th of July, under the Care of the old Laird of Mackinnon. The Night proved tempestuous, and the Coast was very dangerous. They also met a Boat, in which were some armed Militia, with whom they spoke; and, as the Militia did not much exceed their own Number, the Pr. and Crew were resolved to make all the Head they could, and to fight in case they had been attacked. But, in spite of all these Dangers, they landed safe in Moidart, being about thirty Miles from the Place they set out from; and went again to Mr. Angus Macdonald's House at Boradale, changed his Drefs, and sent for Macdonald of Glenaladale, of Clanranald's Family.

Many of those who read this Account, will scarce think it possible, that the Pr. could have escaped being drowned in so many Storms, when in the open Seas, in such small Vessels; the largest of which was heavy laden with thirteen Men; and some of them would scarce hold six People †.

After having landed the Pr. the Laird of Mackinnon took his Leave, and set forewards in the same Boat on his Return home; but was taken Prisoner in Morar, in his Passage back, (so close was the Pr. pursued); and was conveyed into the Thames by Sea; and there partly on board, and partly at Tilbury Fort, was kept a close Prisoner, until he was removed to the new Goal in Southwark, where he was put into Irons; and, in 1747, was removed into the Hands of a Messenger.

Glenaladale, as I observed, being sent for, came; and then informed the Pr. about Lochiel, Keppoch, and others; and that the Loss at Culloden, and after the Battle, was not near so great as Sullivan and O'Neill had told him.

The Pr. then proposed to go to Lochaber, where he
F believed

† Something like this appears in the Octavo Edition of Anson's Voyage, p. 375. "The Cutter of a sixty Gun Ship (being only an open Boat of about Twenty-two Feet in Length) was six Weeks on the Ocean, exposed to Storms and Tempests, and yet weathered it the whole Time."

believed his beloved *Lochiel* was. But, as all the Passes were so closely guarded, it was deemed at that Time impracticable. For one Line was formed from *Inverness* to *Fort-Augus*, and from thence to *Fort-William*, to prevent either the Pr. or any other from escaping; and another Line was formed from the Head of *Locharkaig*, to prevent any passing into or out of *Lochaber*. The Pr. continued some Days in that Country, being in *Glen-Biasdale*, about ten Miles from *Moidart*; and staid, till he heard of the Arrival of Gen. *Campbell* with 400 Men on one Side of him, and Capt. *Caroline Scot* with 500 more on the other. They having received Intelligence whereabouts the Pr. was, were forming a Circle round him; and were not two Miles distant from him.

The Pr. then having an Account of this, was advised to go to the Braes of *Glenmoriston*; and there, and in *Lovat's* Country, to continue until the Passes should be opened. In this Situation he sent for Mr. *Donald Cameron* of *Glenpane*, to be their Guide to the Braes of *Locharkaig*. He came, and, in the Night, conducted the Pr. very safe through the Guards who were in the Passes; and went so close to their Tents, as to hear every Word that was said, being obliged to creep upon their Hands and Knees. At the same Time, there went with the Pr. *Glenaladale*, his Brother, and two young Boys, Sons of *Angus Macdonald* of *Boradale*.

After this, the Pr. continued his Journey for *Glenmoriston's* Country. As they were travelling one Day, and having only *Glenadale* with him, the latter lost his Purse, with forty Guineas in it, in going about three Miles. He lamented this Misfortune the more, because it was all the Money they had; the Pr. having none left. This Gentleman proposed to go back, and seek for it, saying, "He was certain he could go the very same Road, and should find it." The Pr. opposed it, and desired he would not go back. But all in vain; for he was resolute, and accordingly went back; desiring the Pr. to wait, and rest himself behind the Hill adjoining, till he should return.

The Gentleman being gone, the Pr. was at his Post, meditating upon the Goodness of Providence in preserving him hitherto, though often in the midst of the greatest Dangers; when, at a Distance, he spied a Party

ty of Soldiers advancing. Upon which, he hid himself as well as he could ; but yet, in such a Manner, as to see the Soldiers ; who went by not far from him, and then went the very Rout where the Pr. and the other Gentleman would have gone, had not the Purse been lost, or had it not been their whole Stock ; and then they both must have been taken or killed. Thus, what they were regretting as their very great Misfortune, was the Means of their Preservation. † The Pr. watched the Soldiers as far as he could ; and then soon after his Friend returned with the Purse, to whom the Pr. communicated what he had seen ; and both of them “ joined in returning GOD Thanks for his Care “ of them ;” and then proceeded on their Way ; but not as they had at first proposed.

They got into *Glenmoriston* very safe ; but were almost famished with Hunger, when the Pr. saw a little Hut at a Distance, and some Smoke going out of the Hole in the Roof. “ Thither (says he) will I go, let the “ Consequence be what it will : For I had better be “ killed at once, than be starved to Death with Hun- “ ger ; having been Forty-eight Hours without Meat.” His Friend did all in his Power to dissuade him from it ; but he would go.

When they got to the Hut, the Pr. went boldly in, without shewing any manner of Concern ; and there found six stout lusty Fellows at Dinner upon a large Piece of boiled Beef : A Sight he had been long a Stranger to.

These Men were six noted Thieves, who had made this Hut in that Place for Privacy and Safety, and were not a little amazed at seeing the Pr. go in there. One of them knew the Pr. and also knew he was skulking ;

F 2

but,

† Something like this we find in the Voyage above mentioned, p. 412. “ Thus were we forced upon [*Tinian*] the most desirable “ and salutary Measures by Accidents, which, at first, we considered as the greatest of Misfortunes : For, had we not been “ driven by contrary Winds and Currents to the Northward of “ our Course, (a Circumstance which at that Time gave us the “ most terrible Apprehensions), we should, in all Probability, never have arrived at this delightful Island ; and consequently we “ should have missed of that Place where alone all our Wants “ could be most amply supplied.”

but, not thinking it safe to tell the rest of the Company who their new Guests were, had the Presence of Mind, upon seeing the Pr. to cry out, " Ha ! *Dougal Maccul-lony*, I am glad to see thee ! " The Pr. by this Expression, found he was known, and with equal Steadiness of Countenance thanked him, sat down among them, and ate very heartily.

The Pr. his Friend, and the Man who knew the Pr. walked out after Dinner, and then consulted what farther was to be done. And, being informed of the State of the Country about, and of the military People, found it absolutely necessary to wait here for some time ; and that the other five Men must be intrusted with the Secret ; Which being done, they rejoiced that they had it in their Power to serve the Pr. and proved of great Service, and were very faithful. With these Men, and *Glenaladale*, the Pr. continued betwixt the Braes of *Glenmoriston* and *Glen-Strath-Ferrar*, till the Guards were removed, and the Passes opened.

About this Time, viz. the Middle of *July*, one *Roderick Mackenzie*, a Merchant in *Edinburgh*, who had been out with the Pr. was skulking among the Hills about *Glenmoriston*, when some of the Soldiers met with him ; and, as he was about the Pr.'s Size and Age, and not much unlike him in the Face, was a genteel Man, and well dressed, they took him for the Pr. Mr. *Mackenzie* tried to escape them, but could not ; and, being determined not to be taken and hanged, (which he knew, if taken, would be the Fate), he bravely resolved to die Sword-in-hand ; and, in that Death, to serve the Pr. more than he could possibly do by living. This Bravery and Steadiness of Mr. *Mackenzie*, confirmed the Soldiers in their Belief, that he was the Pr. On which Account one of them shot him ; who, as he fell, cried out to them, " You have killed your Prince ! You " have killed your Prince ! " and expired immediately. The Soldiers, overjoyed with their supposed good Fortune in meeting with so great a Prize, immediately cut off the brave young Man's Head ; and made all the haste they could to *Fort-Augustus*, to tell the News, and to lay claim to the 30,000 *l.* ; producing the Head, which several said they knew to be the Pr.'s Head. This great News was soon carried to the Duke, with the

the Head; who so far believed the *great Work* was done, that he set forward, for *London*, from *Fort-Augustus*, on the 18th of *July*; as soon after Mr. *Mackenzie's* Death as he could possibly go. It was about this Head that *Kingsborough* was asked the Question before mentioned, by one of the Captains of the *English Forces*.

The Soldiers and Militia sent out to take the Pr. and his Adherents, now imagining that he was killed, and his Head sent to *London*, began to be less strict, and not to keep so good a Look-out as before; by which Means the Pr. escaped from Place to Place with less Danger.

I observed before, that the Pr. continued betwixt the Braes of *Glenmoriston* and *Glen-Srath-Ferrar*, till the Guards were removed, and all the passes opened. About the Beginning of *August*, he went with his Retinue (as above) to *Lochaber*, and to *Achnasual* on the Side of *Locharkaig*, two Miles from *Achnacarie*, the Seat of *Lochiel*.

The Pr. and Company had brought no Provisions with them, expecting to be supplied in that Country; where there used to be greater Plenty than whence they had come. But they were greatly disappointed; finding all the whole Country plundered and burnt, and no Cattle, or any other sort of Provisions, to be got. In this Distress they remained some time; when, at last, one of the *Glenmoriston* Men espied a single Hart, and shot him. On this they lived without Bread or Salt.

The next Day, the Pr. being informed, that *Macdonald* of *Lochgarie*, *Cameron* of *Cluns*, and *Cameron* of *Achnasual*, were in the neighbouring Mountains, sent after them; and, at the same time, sent a Messenger to *Lochiel*, who was then about twenty Miles off, to let him [*Lochiel*] know where he [the Pr.] was. Before the Pr. sent to *Lochiel*, he [*Lochiel*] had heard also, that it was supposed the Pr. was in the Country; and sent his Brother Dr. *Archibald Cameron*, and the Rev. Mr. *John Cameron*, by different Roads, to get all the Intelligence they could of the Pr.

The Person sent by the Pr. to *Lochiel*, met Dr. *Cameron* within a few Miles of the Place where *Lochiel* was; who was obliged to return with two *French Officers*,

ficers, whom he had met with ; and who were in quest of the Pr. also.

This faithful Person, sent by the Pr. would not own to the Doctor, or to the two *French* Officers, that he knew any Thing about the Pr. his Orders being only, to tell it to *Lochiel* himself ; which he punctually obeyed. And, as he said he had Business of the utmost Consequence, the Doctor conducted him, with the two Officers to *Lochiel*.

Next Day, *Lochiel* sent Dr. *Cameron*, with four Servants, to the Pr. and sent the Officers, at the same time, to be under the Care of one of his Friends, till farther Orders.

Mr. *Cameron* the Minister, whom *Lochiel* had sent out, to get Intelligence of the Pr. after travelling and searching several Days, went to *Achnacarie* ; where he met with Dr. *Cameron* going to the Pr. with the four Servants ; who, as the River was not fordable, raised a Boat, which Capt. *Monro* of *Culcairn* had sunk, after searching the Isle of *Locharkaig*.

When *Culcairn* was plundering in this Island, he saw some new-raised Earth ; and, imagining there would be either Money or Arms concealed, had it dug up ; but only found a Man's Corpse, with a good Holland Shirt on ; which made him believe it to be *Lochiel*. He thereupon sent an Express to the Duke of *Cumberland*, to tell him that *Lochiel* was dead of his Wounds. But it really was the Corpse of ——— *Cameron*, Brother of *Allan Cameron* of *Callart* ; which last was taken at *Culloden*, and carried to *London*. However, rather than have no Plunder, they took the Shirt, and left the Corpse lying on the Ground.

Dr. *Cameron* and the Minister, observing some Men by the Water-side in Arms, sent some of *Cluns's* Children to see who they were. They soon found, that they belonged to *Cluns* ; sent the Boat for them, and then sent the four Servants back again to *Lochiel* ; pretending they were going to skulk in the Wood for some Days, and that keeping such a Number together, might be dangerous.

They then crossed the River, and went to the Hut where the Pr. was ; which was built on Purpose in a Wood betwixt *Achnasual*, and the End of *Locharkaig*.

The

The Pr. and *Cameron* of *Achnasual*, upon seeing the Doctor and his Brother at a Distance, and not then knowing who they were, had left the Hut, and went a little from it: But, being soon informed who they were, immediately returned; and then there was a joyful Meeting. And when they told the Pr. that *Lochiel* was well, and recovered of his Wounds, he returned God Thanks thrice for it, and expressed an uncommon Satisfaction.

The Pr. was at this Time bare-footed; had on a dirty Shirt. an old black Kelt-Coat, a plaid, and a Philibeg, and a long Beard, a Gun in his Hand, and a Pistol and Durk by his Side. He was very chearful, and in good Health. They had killed a Cow the Day before, and the Servants were roasting Part of it. At Dinner the Pr. ate heartily of the Beef, and some Bread which they had got from *Fort-Augustus*; and no Man could sleep sounder than he did. He now began to speak some little *Erse*.

The Pr. proposed going immediately to *Lochiel*; but, a Friend telling him, that he saw in the News-papers, (which they got at the same time they got their Bread), that it was said the Pr. had passed *Coriarrick* with *Lochiel* and thirty Men, which probably might occasion a strict Search in those Parts; he therefore resolved to stay some Days longer where he was. However, two or three Days after this, the Pr. sent *Lochgarry* and Dr. *Cameron* to *Lochiel*; and then dismissed *Glenaladale*, to look out for Ships on the West Coast; and the *Glenmoriston* Men to return home again. And the Pr. continued in the Hut with *Cluns's* Children, Capt. *Macraw* of *Glengary's* Regiment, one or two Servants, and the Rev. Mr. *John Cameron*.

The two Officers I mentioned above, who went to *Lochiel* with Dr. *Cameron*, came from *Dunkirk*, in a small Vessel, with sixty other Gentlemen, who had formed themselves into a Company of Voluntiers, under the Command of the said two Officers. They got to *Polliu* in *Seafort's* Country; where four of them landed, to deliver their Dispatches. Two of whom were taken Prisoners, viz. one *Fitzgerald*, a Spanish Officer, whom they hanged at *Fort-William*, pretending he had been a Spy in *Flanders*; the other who was called

led Monsieur *de Berard*, a French Officer, and was after some time exchanged upon the Cartel. The other two wandered in *Seafort's* Country, till *Lochgary*, hearing they had Letters for the Pr. sent Capt. *Macraw*, and his own Servant, for them, that they might be sent to *Lochiel*, since the Pr. could not be found. This was about the Middle of *July*.

When they came to *Lochiel*, some Person told him, these Officers had left their Letters with *Alexander Macleod*, one of the Pr.'s Aid de Camps. Though this proved true; yet, as they themselves had not told it to *Lochiel*, it made him suspect them to be the Government's Spies.

The Pr. was very desirous of seeing these Officers: But the Rev. Mr. *John Cameron* told him, what both *Lochiel*, the Doctor, and he himself were afraid of. Upon which, the Pr. resolved to act in this Affair with great Caution; and said, "He could not help observing, that it probably might be as they conjectured; because, if they were not Spies, it was surprising, that two Men, without one Word of *Erse*, and quite Strangers in the Country, could escape the Troops, who were always in Motion in quest of himself [the Pr.] and his Followers."

However, as these Officers had told *Lochiel*, that they had never seen the Pr. he [the Pr.] laid a Scheme to see them safely; and therefore he wrote a Letter himself to them, to this Purpose, viz. "That, to avoid falling into his Enemies Hands, he was under a Necessity to retire to a remote Country; where he had no Person with him, except one Captain *Drummond*, and a Servant: And, as he could not remove from where he was, without Danger to himself and them, he had sent Captain *Drummond* with this Letter; and, as he could repose intire Confidence in him, he desired they would tell whatever Message they had to the Bearer, Capt. *Drummond*; and take his Advice as to their Conduct." This Letter the Pr. proposed to deliver himself, as Capt. *Drummond*. Accordingly the Officers were sent for, and were introduced to the Pr. under this borrowed Name.

The Pr. then delivered the Letter to them, with which they seemed very well pleased; and told him e-
very

very Thing they had to say, which he afterwards said was of no great Consequence, as his Affairs then stood. They continued there two Days, and asked Capt. *Drummond* many Questions, about the Pr.'s Health, his Manner of Living, &c.

The Pr. thinking the Packet left with Mr. *Alexander Macleod* might be of Use to him, sent for it. But, as it was in Cypher, and directed to the French Ambassador, he could make nothing of them. *Lochiel* still took care of these Officers, till the Pr. was ready to go away; when they were conducted to the Ship: And when they saw that they had before conversed with the Pr. in so very free a Manner, taking him then really for Capt. *Drummond*, they were greatly ashamed, and asked his Pardon.

The Pr. and Company continued in this Wood, and in that over against *Achnacarie*, (having three Huts in different Places, to which they removed by Turns), until about the 10th of *August*. On which Day, *Cluns's* Sons, and Mr. *Cameron* the Minister, went to the Strath of *Cluns* to get Intelligence.

They were not half an Hour in the Hut which *Cluns* had built for his Family, (after his House was burnt), when a Child of six Years of Age went out; and, returning hastily, said, "That she saw a Body of Soldiers." This they could not believe, as *Lochgarry* had promised *Lochiel* to have a Guard between *Fort-Augustus* and *Cluns's*, to give Intelligence.

They went out however, and found all true as the Girl had told. *Cluns* skulked to observe the Motion of that Party. One of his Sons, and Mr. *John Cameron* the Minister, went to inform the Pr. who was that Day in one of the Huts on the other Side of the Water *Kaig*, a short Mile from *Cluns's*; and, in crossing the Water at the Ford, under Cover of the Wood, and going within Pistol-shot of the Hut, Mr. *Cameron* observed the Party advancing.

The Pr. was asleep, it being about eight o'Clock in the Morning: Mr. *Cameron* however awoke him; and told him, that a Body of their Enemies was in Sight. He then arose very composedly, called for his Gun, and sent for Capt. *Macraw*, and *Alexander*, (*Cluns's* Son).

As they had not received Intelligence of this Party's
G
marching

marching out of *Fort-Augustus*, they concluded that there was some Treachery in the Case; and that they were surrounded on all Sides. However, they were determined, though but eight in Number, that, rather than yield to be butchered by their merciless Enemies, to sell their Lives as dear as they could; in the Defence of their Pr. and to die like Men of Honour.

The Pr. examined all their Guns, which were in pretty good Order; and said, he hoped they should do some Execution before they were killed: "For his part, (he said), he had been bred a Fowler, and could charge quick; was a tolerable Marksman, and would be sure of one at least."

They then left the Hut, and marched to a small Hill, above the Wood, from whence they could see a great Way up *Glenkengie*, and not be discovered. They got there unobserved; which was owing to the Wood. The Pr. then sent *Cluns* and the Minister to take a narrow View of the Party, and resolved that Night to go to the Top of *Mullantagart*, a high Mountain in the Braes of *Glenkengie*; and sent one to *Cluns* and the Minister, to know what they discovered, or were informed of.

When *Cluns* and the Minister had got to the Strath of *Cluns*, the Women told them, that the Party was about 200 of Lord *Laudon's* Regiment, under Capt. *Grant* of *Knockando* in *Strathspey*; that they had carried away ten Milk Cows, which *Cluns* had bought after he was plundered before; and that they had found out the Hut the Pr. had in the Wood of *Tervalt*; and said they were gone to fetch *Barrisdale's* Cattle to the Camp.

In the Evening, *Cluns's* Son went to his Father from the Pr. and then they all returned, and carried some Whisky, Bread and Cheese; and got to the Pr. about Twelve o'Clock at Night. He was on the Side of the Mountain, without Fire or any Covering. They persuaded him to take a Dram, and made a Fire; which however they durst not keep above half an Hour, before they extinguished it.

By Day-light, they went up to the Top of the Mountain; where they staid till Eight o'Clock in the Evening, without rising up. The Pr. slept all the Forenoon in his Plaid and wet Stockings; though it hailed. From
hence

hence they went that Night to the Strath of *Glenkengie*, where they killed a Cow, and lived merrily for some Days.

From this Place they went to the Braes of *Achnacarie*, and waded through the Water of *Arkey*, which reached up to the Mid-thigh. In which wet Condition the Pr. lay all Night and next Day, in the open Air; yet caught no Cold.

In a Day or two, *Lochgarry* and Dr. *Cameron* returned from *Lochiel*, (to whom they had been sent); and told it as *Lochiel's* Opinion, that the Pr. would be safer where *Lochiel* was skulking; which pleased the Pr. very much.

The next Night the Pr. set out with *Lochgarry*, Dr. *Cameron*, *Alexander* (*Cluns's* Son), the Rev. Mr. *John Cameron*, and three Servants. They travelled in the Night, and slept all the Day, till they got to *Lochiel*; who was then among the Hills between the Braes of *Badenoch* and *Athol*. The Doctor and his Brother went by another Road on a Message to *Badenoch*. The Minister returned about the 13th of *September*, and the next Day was sent South, by *Lochiel*, to hire a Ship to carry them off, from the East Coast.

The Ship was provided, and one sent to inform the Pr. of it; who, with *Lochiel* and others, was to go where the Ship then lay. But, before this Messenger got to the Place where the Pr. and *Lochiel* had been, two of his Friends, who had orders to watch on the West Coast, had been to tell them, that two *French* Ships were arrived at *Moidart*.

Upon this, the Pr. set out from where they were the Night following; and, at the same Time, sent to inform others who were skulking in different Places. Some arrived at the Place appointed in Time; but several, by some Accident or other, had not that good Fortune.

The Pr. reached *Moidart* on *September* 19. 1746; and, on the 20th, embarked on board the *Bellona* of *St. Maloes*, a *Nantz* Privateer of 32 Carriage and 12 Swivel Guns, and 340 Men, brought hither by Col. *Warren* of *Dillon's* Regiment, who went on purpose for a Vessel. The Pr. after seeing his Friends all on board both the Ships, then embarked himself; set sail immediately for *France*; where he landed safely at *Roscort*,
near

near three Leagues West of *Morlaix*, on the 29th of the same Month, having had a pleasant Voyage; though narrowly escaping Admiral *Lestock's* Squadron, who were then upon the Coast of *Bretagne*.

The *Bellona* was afterwards taken, on the second of February following, by three Men of War, viz. the *Eagle*, the *Edinburgh*, and the *Nottingham*.

From the above Account we find, that the Pr. was twice in danger of being shot; and five Times in danger of being drowned, being in great Storms in little open Boats; nine Times pursued, and in sight of the Men of War, and armed Vessels; many times in danger of being taken, often seeing his Pursuers, and sometimes being within hearing of what they said; six times miraculously escaped being taken.

He was often almost famished for want of Meat and Drink; and must have starved inevitably, had he not found the Fish at the desert Island of *Euirn* or *Iffurt*, and if one of the *Glenmoriston* Men had not found and shot the Hart.

He was mostly obliged to ly in miserable Huts, or on Mountains; having no other Bed than the bare Ground or Heath, and without any other Covering than the Dews or Rains. And add to all these, that he had frequent Returns of the Bloody Flux.

Thus Reader, you have a faithful Account of the whole Escape, taken from the Authorities which are already mentioned. And this Account, since the Pr.'s Return to the Continent of *Scotland*, is chiefly taken from the Journal of the Rev. Mr. *John Cameron*, Presbyterian Minister, and Chaplain to *Fort-William*; who, you find, has been much with the Pr. I shall therefore conclude with his own Words, viz.

“ I have told you what I was witness to, or informed of by such as I could absolutely depend upon. I shall only add, that the Pr. submitted with Patience to his adverse Fortune; was chearful, and frequently desired those that were with him, to be so. He was cautious when in the greatest Danger; never at a loss, in resolving what to do, with uncommon Fortitude. He regreted more the Distress of those who suffered for adhering to his Interest, than the Hardships and Dangers he was hourly exposed to. To
“ conclude,

"conclude, He possesses all the Virtues that form the
 "Character of A TRUE HERO and A GREAT
 "PRINCE."

An ACCOUNT of the PRINCE's Arrival in FRANCE.

Dear SIR,

INTELLIGENCE was no sooner brought that he was landed at *Rosfort*, than the Castle of *St. Anthoine* was fitted up for his Reception. A great Number of young Noblemen attended his Brother, to meet him on the Road, and conducted him to *Paris*; where he would not be prevailed upon to stay for any Refreshment, but went directly to *Versailles*. The King, though at that Time in Council on some Affairs of Importance, immediately quitted it to receive him; and, as he advanced, took him in his Arms, with all the Marks of the most tender Affection, saying, as I was informed by one who was actually in Presence.

† *Mon tres chere Prince, je rend grace au ciel qui me donne le plaisir extreme de vous voir arrivé en bonne santé, apres tant de fatigues et de dangers. Vous avez fait voir, que toutes les grandes qualités des heros et des philosophes se trouvent unies en vous; et j'espere, qu'un de ces jours vous recevrez la recompence d'un merite si extraordinaire.*

After

† My most dear Prince, I thank Heaven for the extreme Pleasure it gives me to see you returned in Safety, after so many Fatigues and Dangers. You have proved, that all the great Qualities of the Heroes and Philosophers are united in you; and I hope, that one Day you will receive the Reward of such extraordinary Merit.

After staying about a Quarter of an Hour with the King, he passed to the Queen's Apartment, who welcomed him with all imaginable Demonstrations of Goodwill and Satisfaction. The whole Court crowded about him to pay their Compliments, as he went through the Rooms in going out of the Palace. Scarce could they have testified greater Joy, or expressed themselves in Terms more warm, had Monsieur *le Dauphin* been engaged in the same dangerous Expedition, and returned from it in Safety.

In spite of the Reasons the *French* have given for their Sincerity being called in question, and in spite of the Events which have since happened, to give the Lie to all these kind Professions, I cannot help thinking, but that the King had really a very great personal Regard for the *Chevalier*, though the Interest of his Kingdom, and the incessant Remonstrances of his Ministers (some of whom it is suspected have other Views besides the national Concerns) has prevented his Majesty from giving such Proofs of that Regard as the other expected, and he made him hope. But, however that may be, the Sincerity of the Queen's Professions admits no Doubt. Her Majesty and the Princess *Sobieſki* had passed some Years of their Youth together; they had contracted the most intimate and lasting Friendship with each other; and it is natural to suppose the favourite Son of a Person who had been so dear to her, and who has so much the Resemblance of his Mother, cannot be indifferent to her. It has been with a Kind of maternal Tenderness she has always looked upon him; and I have been told by several about her Majesty, that whenever he came to Court (which, till the signing the Peace, he did once or twice every Week) she used to keep him in Conversation for whole Hours together, and make him recite to her, and the Ladies who were with her, his Adventures, the Detail of which seldom failed of drawing Tears from her Eyes; nor were the young Princesses, one of them especially, less affected with the melancholly Story.

This, you will say, was sufficient to flatter a youthful Heart; yet did he not appear at all elevated with it. The Memory of his Disappointment was yet too recent, and the News which was continually arriving, of the
Commitments,

Commitments, Trials and Executions of some of his most faithful Followers, filled him with an Anxiety which left but little Room for pleasurable Ideas.

Punctilios, however, were to be observed. The little Visit he made at *Versailles* was as it were *incog*. It was necessary he should pay his Compliments in Form, and in the Character his Father had conferred upon him, that of Prince Regent of *Scotland, England, and Ireland*. Accordingly, in about ten Days after, he set out from the Castle, with a Parade and Equipage, which, as I had the Curiosity to be one of the Spectators of, I shall describe as near as my Memory will permit.

Having an Interest with one of the Domesticks, I was placed by him in the *Salon* of the Castle; which, commanding the great Stair-case, and the Gate at the same Time, gave me a full View of the young *Chevalier*, and those who attended him, as they passed through, and went into the Coaches which stood ready to receive them. Into the first went the Lords *Ogilvie* and *Elcho*, with the venerable *Glenbucket*, and Mr. *Kelly* his Secretary: — In the second went the young *Chevalier* himself, with Lord *Lewis Gordon* and the eldest *Lochiel*, who was Master of the Horse to him; two Pages richly habited, lolled on the Boot; and ten Footmen, in the Livery of the Character he assumes, walked on each Side. — In the third went four Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber; one of whom you must have heard spoke of, for he was a long Time Prisoner in *Newgate*; they call him Captain *Stafford*; the Names of the others I do not know: The younger *Lochiel*, with several Gentlemen, followed on Horseback. All made a very grand Appearance; but the young *Chevalier* himself took off my Attention from every Thing besides. I shall say nothing of his Person, you have doubtless heard it sufficiently described; I shall only tell you, that he did not at that Time entirely trust to the Graces it had received from Nature, for attracting Admiration. His Habit had in it, I thought, somewhat of an uncommon Elegance. — His Coat was Rose coloured Velvet, embroidered with Silver, and lined with Silver Tissue; his Waistcoat was a rich Gold Brocade, with a spangled Fringe set on in Scollops; the Cockade in his Hat, and the Buckles of his Shoes, were Diamonds; the *George* at his

his Bosom, and the Order of *St. Andrew*, which he wore also tied by a Piece of green Ribbon to one of the Buttons of his Waistcoat, were prodigiously illustrated with large Brilliants: In fine, he glittered all over like the Star which they tell you appeared at his Nativity, and rendered him an Object which I should have been sorry to have omitted seeing. I heard afterwards that he supped with the King, Queen, and Royal Family; and that all who attended him were magnificently entertained at the several Tables appointed for them, according to the Rank they held under him.

You must have had an Account in the Papers of the Journey he took to *Madrid*; but could not be informed of any Part of his Success, any more than the Motives which induced him to go thither; both which he has always kept so inviolably secret, that we here are as much in the Dark as you can be. We only are told, that he was extremely well received by their Majesties, the Queen Dowager, and all the Court. The King caused 50,000 Pistoles to be paid him, and presented him with a fine Gold-hilted Sword set with Brilliants. The Queen gave him a small Box with her Picture, and a Ring valued at 1500 Pistoles. The Queen Dowager also made him a rich Present; but we do not hear of what it consisted.

His Stay at *Madrid* was extremely short; they tell you not exceeding five or six Days, yet was he absent from *Paris* upwards of four Months; during which Time it was confidently reported, and is still believed, that he visited two other Courts †.

But whatever Disappointments he might have met with in the Tour he had been making, none seemed to affect him so much as the Step his Brother had just taken, of becoming an Ecclesiastick. — A Resolution so detestable to the People of *England*, and consequently so detrimental to the Interest of the *Stewart* Family, it must be confessed, had a Right to alarm him. But those who are best acquainted with his Temper will tell you,

† As these Courts were not specified in the Letter, we will not presume to palm our own Conjectures on the Publick; but leave every Reader to judge as he shall think most reasonable.

you, that it was not the Consideration of Interest which gave him the greatest Subject of Disquiet; and that a more generous and tender Motive made this Misfortune sit with double Weight upon him. It seems he has always been eminently remarkable for both filial and fraternal Affection; and to think that such a Blow was given to his Hopes by a *Brother*, and consented to by a *Father*, struck a most deadly Damp on the natural Gayety and Vivacity of his Disposition. — He had shewn how well he could support the ill Usage of *Enemies*, but was yet to learn how to bear that of *Friends*, so near and so dear as he had ever held them in their several Relations to him. — It is a great while since I read any *English* Poetry; but I never reflect on this Circumstance of the young *Chevalier's* Catalogue of Misfortunes, without this Line of Mr. *Dryden's* coming fresh into Mind.

Fate ne'er strikes deep, but when Unkindness joins.

It may be alledged, that he had no Reason to be so deeply affected on the Score of Unkindness, on his *Father's* Side at least; because, whatever Success had crowned his Attempt, he (the old *Chevalier*) must have first enjoyed the Benefit of it; and therefore it could not be supposed he would consent to any Thing that might contribute to destroy his own present Expectations, merely to overthrow those of his Son in futuro; so that the young *Chevalier* could not accuse him of loving him less than he did himself. — But, in answer to this, I must inform you, that whatever People on your Side the Water may imagine, we on this are fully persuaded, that the old *Chevalier* is as far from desiring, as it is likely he is from expecting, to reap any Fruit of his Son's Labours; that the long Series of repeated Disappointments, Deceptions, and Treacheries, he has met with in the Prosecution of his Aim, have at length made him weary of it; and that he rather chooses to pass the Remainder of his Days in a Retirement, which Use has rendered pleasing to him, than to embark in the Cares of State, in case the Dignity he once was so ambitious of was offered him.

How strange soever this may appear to you, I have

H

been

been assured by a Person of great Veracity, who said he had it from the Mouth of one of those who attended the young *Chevalier* from *Rome*, that, when the Commission of Regency was given to him, his Father at the same Time told him it never should be revoked ; and whatever Success attended his Enterprize, it should be all his own ; for he now thought himself too far advanced in Life to begin to be a King.

No such Thing indeed was inserted in the Declarations he sent into *Scotland* and *England* (though, by the Way, I know not but it would have been better for the Cause if it had been so) but the whole Tenor of his Deportment for some Years past, in my Opinion, justifies all that is said on this Score : And if so, however negligent and unambitious he may be of a Dignity to which he thinks himself born, he should, at least, according to the Judgment of all his Friends, have avoided doing any Thing which might prejudice the Pretensions of a Son, who, it plainly appears, is of a far different Way of thinking.

The Discontent of the young *Chevalier*, however, never broke out in any disrespectful Terms against his Father : He continued to drink his Health every Day at Dinner, with the same Warmth as ever. He contented himself with omitting that of his Brother, and forbidding all who were about him ever to mention his Name in his Presence.

You tell me, that you find People with you very much divided in their Opinions concerning this young Gentleman's Proceeding ; and really, Sir, we here are at as great a Loss how to account for it. — Some look on it as a Fit of Bigotry, others of Despair ; but the greatest Number term it the Result of Avarice and Ambition, as thinking the Revenue of a *Cardinal* a better Provision for a younger Brother, than any Thing he could hope for, even should their Family ever be restored : And, if you will take my Judgment in the Business, the latter seems to be the true Case. — The Event was sudden and unexpected. — During the whole Time of his Brother's Absence on his Expedition in *Scotland*, nor for a long Time after his Return, he never gave any Symptoms of an overflaming Devotion, seemed as little addicted to Superstition as the young

young *Chevalier* himself, than whom no Man can be less; and rather more delighted with what are called the Gayeties and Pleasures of Life, till a little before he declared his Intention of going back to *Rome*: And then indeed it was necessary for him to put on a more grave and solemn Air, befitting the Character he intended to assume.

I am now obliged to leave a Kind of Chasm in my History: For from this Time, till after the Battle of *La Vall*, though Couriers were almost every Week passing and repassing between the Court of the young *Chevalier* and several Parts of *Europe*, which shewed there was some Design of great Moment in Hand; yet the Nature of it was kept so close, that not the least Hint of it transpired: And I have only one particular to acquaint you with, which perhaps the young *Chevalier's* Disdain of the Proposition made him think unworthy of being at any Pains to conceal. It was this,

Cardinal *Tencin*, who every one knows is indebted for his Elevation to the Dignity he now enjoys, to the Interest and Favour of the Father of the young *Chevalier*, came to the Castle of *St. Anthoine* more frequently than it is like his Presence was desired, to pay his Compliments; as he said, to the Son of a Person to whom he was so highly obliged. In one of those Visits, after many Protestations of the unfeigned Zeal he had for the Service of their illustrious Family, he took Occasion of giving some broad Hints; that, in Spite of the present Circumstances of Affairs, the Ministry might possibly find out some Expedient to gratify him with the Succours he demanded; provided that, in case of a Restoration to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, the Kingdom of *Ireland* were yielded up, and made a Province to *France*, as an Equivalent for the Expence the Government must necessarily be at in such an Undertaking.

I am told, the Cardinal had scarce finished what he had to say, when the young *Chevalier* started from his Seat, and, not able to contain how much he was irritated, cried out, *Non, Monsieur le Cardinal! Tout ou rien! Point de Partage!* † — These Words, it seems,

H 2 he

† No, Lord Cardinal! All or Nothing! No Partition!

he repeated several Times, walking backwards and forwards in an Agitation which was not usual in him. — The Cardinal, perceiving how his Proposal was relished, begged he would make no Mention of the Thing to the King or Ministry, it being, he said, only a Project of his own, which the Love and Regard he ever had for their illustrious House had put into his Head. To which the young *Chevalier* replied, That he should not give himself the Trouble even to think of it.

Whether the Cardinal had any Orders to make this Proposal, or whether, in Reality, it was no more than a Scheme of his own, cannot be determined; but it appears to me not unlikely, that he might put such a Thing into the Ministers Heads, with a View, that in case they approved of it, and the young *Chevalier* had consented, the Primacy of that Kingdom, when it fell into the Hands of *France*, might be added to his other ecclesiastical Benefices.

When the Negotiations were arrived at such a Forwardness, that a Peace was scarce to be doubted of, those even who wished it most, for the common Good of their Country, expressed a good deal of Concern for the young *Chevalier*, easily foreseeing, that, on the Conclusion of it, he would be obliged to leave *France*, as his Father had been. Most People expected to see him extremely dejected on the Occasion; and some, who knew the Greatness of his Spirit, imagined he would of himself leave the Dominions of *France* before the Preliminaries were signed, and not give the King and Ministry the Trouble of signifying to him that he must do so.

Of this latter Opinion I was. But his Conduct soon shewed how mistaken all the Conjectures formed of him had been. — Whether it were, that he was really pleased with being no longer under the Necessity of dissembling his Sentiments in regard to the *French* Ministry, or that the Force of his Resolution set him above being concerned at any Thing could befall him, I will not pretend to say. But it is certain he appeared more lively, gay, and spirituous than ever. — He hired an extreme fine Ho-

tel

tel on the *Quai de Theatin* †, for himself and the chief of his Retinue, on purpose, as he said, to be near the Opera, the Comedy, and other Diversions of *Paris*; some one or other of which he now very seldom failed of partaking every Evening. — Whenever any Discourse happened in his Presence concerning the Congress which was soon to assemble at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, he seemed not to regard any Thing was said on that Score, but either sung, or found some Way of waving making any Reply.

He did not presently refrain going to *Versailles*, *Fountainbleau*, *Choisy*, or wherever the Court was: But it was observed, he neither went so frequently, nor staid so long as he had been accustomed; and rather chose to avoid than seek any private Conferences with the King. The first publick Indication he gave, how little he prized the future Friendship of *France*, was, to cause a great Number of Medals to be cast with his Head, and this Inscription,

CAROLUS WALLÆ PRINCEPS *;

and on the Reverse, BRITANNIA, and Shipping, with this Motto,

AMOR ET SPES
BRITANNIÆ.

Of these some were of Silver, others of Copper. The latter Sort he took Care to have distributed so well, that few of any tolerable Rank but had one of them. Every Body was surpris'd at the Device. Some knew not what to make of it; but those who considered that *France* was reduced to the Condition of being glad of a Peace, entirely by the Bravery and Successes of the *English* Fleet, looked upon it as an Insult. — I was told by one belonging to *Monsieur de Puyseux*, that the Ministry

† On the Banks of the *Seine*, opposite to the *Louvre*, an extreme pleasant Part of the Town.

* The Editor remembers to have seen Medals with this Inscription; or something near it, said to be struck on his Expedition in *Scotland*; but how far they differed in other Parts of the Device from these mentioned in the Letter, cannot be certain.

Ministry were so highly offended at it, that they complained of it to the King, and pretended that some Notice ought to be taken of it. To which, it seems, his Majesty replied, without any Warmth, That the P—e doubtless had his Reasons; but whatever they were, as he could not be called to an Account, nothing should be said on the Occasion.

This, however, made a very great Noise, as the Medals were not only in the Hands of so many People in *Paris*, but, to my certain Knowledge, were also sent over to *England*, *Scotland*, and several other Parts of *Europe*.——The Prince of *Conti*, who is accounted one of the proudest Men in all *France*, and also of the most Wit, shewed he was excessively piqued at the young *Chevalier* on this Occasion: For, meeting him one Day in *Luxemburg* Gardens, he told him with an Air of Pleasantry, but which also had somewhat of a Sneer in it, that the Device of his Medals was not altogether so applicable, as the *British* Navy were no very good Friends to him. To which, I am credibly informed, the young *Chevalier* made this remarkable Reply:

Cela est vrai, Prince! mais je suis non obstant l'ami de la flotte contre tous ses ennemis; comme je regarderai toujours la gloire d'Angleterre comme la mienne, et sa gloire est dans sa flotte †.

The Prince, unwilling to make a serious Affair of it, said no more, but left him to join some other Company; to whom, it seems, he related what had passed, not without inveighing with some Heat against the Ingratitude (as he termed it) of the young *Chevalier*.

Soon after the *French* Plenipotentiaries were set out to meet those of the other Powers at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in order to open the Congress, the young *Chevalier* entered his Protest there, against all that should be concerted or agreed upon, in that or any other Congress, in prejudice to his Title and Pretensions. This, as it was a Thing

† That is very true, Prince! but, nevertheless, I am a Friend to the Navy, against all Enemies whatever; as I shall always look upon the Glory of *England* as my own; and her Glory is in her Navy.

Thing of Form, and had been done both by his Father and Grandfather, on the assembling of every Congress since the Family were excluded, was no more than might be expected; and indeed to have omitted it, would have been deemed as a Tacit relinquishing his Claim. Many People, however, thought it would better have become the old *Chevalier*, not only as it was more immediately his Province, but also as his Son was actually a Guest at the same time in the *French* Dominions: But, as I have already hinted to you, that unfortunate Person seems to have done with all Hopes and Desires that Way; and the young *Chevalier*, as *Regent*, thought himself empowered to act in every Thing, with respect to the Pretensions of their Family to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, as he should judge most proper and convenient for their Interests.

But, in this *Protest*, there was something more remarkable than had been in any of those which had preceded it. The young *Chevalier*, after declaring what I have already specified, adds, *That whatever might be insinuated to the contrary, he would never accept of any Offers, or enter into any Conditions, for giving up his Claim, which he was determined to maintain by all the Means Heaven should put in his Power; and should reject all such Proposals as the Acceptance of must oblige him to abandon those who adhered to and depended on him.*

This latter Part looked like a Confirmation of some Reports with which I have not yet acquainted you. It was whispered by several who pretended to be deep in the Secrets of State, that there was a Project on Foot for compromising that Affair which had for so many Years divided the Subjects of *Great-Britain*, and that Proposals had been made to the young *Chevalier*, that, on renouncing for ever all Claim to the Crown of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, a perpetual yearly Subsidy should be granted him for those Kingdoms, sufficient to support the Dignity of a Prince; which Title should also be allowed him as a Branch of the *Sobieski* Line.

If it may be depended on, that such Proposals were actually made, as that Part of the *Protest* above quoted gives good Room to believe, they could not but have given great Matter of Disgust to the young *Chevalier*.

If this was the Care the *French* Ministers told him would be taken of his Interests, it was such a Care as he thought he had no Reason to thank them for. And I must say, that, in whatever Heads such a Design was formed, it was extremely weak. Could it be imagined, with any Shew of Probability, that a Person who had, in every Instance of his Behaviour, testified that he was strictly tenacious of what he calls his Birth-Right, and who had refused to give up *one* Part of the Dominions he lays Claim to, as a Consideration for being put in Possession of the *others*, would ever be prevailed upon to relinquish the *whole*, and become a Pensioner to the Crown he was bred in the Expectation of wearing?

I might possibly have spared this Part of my Information, as I fancy this Affair was talked of on your Side the Water; for a Person of some Consideration, who took a Trip hither on the Cessation of Arms, told me he had heard somewhat of it in *London*: What I have said, however, may serve to confirm you in the Opinion of the Probability of such a Thing being in Agitation, though it did not take Effect.

After the signing of the Preliminaries, the young *Chevalier* went no more to Court, but appeared far from being disconcerted at this Event. I can speak this with Certainty; for happening one Day to be at the Duke *de Bovillon's*, on account of some Actions I had in my Hands, and which, on the Assurance of a Peace, rose excessively, and were likely to do so every Day, the Conversation I had with him was interrupted by Word being brought, that the *P. R.* meaning the young *Chevalier*, was come to visit him. On which he was running down Stairs to meet him, but was prevented by the other, who was in the Room before he could well leave it.——I made my Congee, telling the Duke I would attend him at a more leisure Hour. But I had scarce reached the outer Chamber, when the young *Chevalier*, being told I was an *Englishman*, desired I should be called back.——On my Return he asked me several Questions, and talked to me with a Freedom, which, though far from derogating from his Dignity, was yet so surprisngly flattering from a Person of his Rank to one of mine, that I must confess I could not keep myself from being very much transported with it at that Time.

Time. So great a Force has Affability and a Sweetness of Behaviour over the Minds of all who are treated with it by their Superiors.

This was the first, and indeed the only Time I ever had the Honour of being spoke to by him ; but the few Minutes I was in his Presence served to make me cease to think it strange so many had hazarded their Lives and Fortunes in his Service.

It was soon known all over *Paris*, that, by one of the Articles of the Treaty, he would be obliged to quit *France* entirely ; and also that the King, being willing to soften the Stroke as much as possible, had wrote a Letter to the States of *Friburg*, desiring they would receive him in a Manner becoming his Birth, and as a Prince who was very dear to him.—But neither the one nor the other had any Effect on the Deportment of our young Hero. He continued to live as a Person wholly disinterested, and regardless of what was doing, till the King, who had doubtless expected he would have gone of his own Accord, finding he did not, ordered Cardinal *Tencin* to acquaint him with the Necessity there was for his Departure.

It may be supposed, the Cardinal delivered this Message in the most tender Terms that could be, and spared no Arguments to convince him of the Regret his Most Christian Majesty felt at finding himself constrained, for the Sake of giving Peace to *Europe*, to make a Concession so disagreeable to himself. I also heard that he should insinuate as if the whole Thing was only an Expedient to serve a temporary Purpose, and that in a short Time he (the young *Chevalier*) might return with a greater Prospect of Advantage than ever.—To this, the same Person assured me, he gave very short and equally evasive Answers ; and the Cardinal was obliged to leave him, without being able to give the King any positive Account, whether he was ready to conform to his Intentions or not.

The King, nevertheless, waited the Result for thirteen or fourteen Days ; but being informed, that he made not the least Preparation for his Departure, sent the Duke de *Gefures* with a Message of much the same Nature with that the Cardinal had delivered ; but this had no more Effect than the former. The young *Che-*

Chevalier only told him, that he had so little expected the Step had been taken, that he had not yet sufficient Time to consider how to behave in it.

This Answer produced a Delay of near a Fortnight more, when the Duke *de Gesvres* was sent a second Time; and, on his expatiating on the Necessity the King was under of executing this Article of the Treaty, the young *Chevalier* replied, with some Warmth, That there was a prior Treaty between himself and his Most Christian Majesty, from which he could not depart with Honour.——It was in vain the Duke urged him to be more explicit: The other only bid him deliver what he had said to the King, who would know his Meaning.

Néither of these Visits from the Duke, nor the Purport of his Errand, were made a Secret, either by the one or the other Side. And there was so little Appearance that the young *Chevalier* had any Intention to leave *Paris*, that his People bought several Pieces of new Furniture for his House. Among other Things, he sent to the King's Goldsmith, who had been employed by himself before, and ordered him to make a Service of Plate to the Value of an hundred thousand Crowns, to be ready against a particular Day he mentioned; which the Goldsmith promised not to fail in. But it so happened, that immediately after he received Orders to prepare such a large Quantity for the King's Use against that Time, that he found it impossible to comply with both; On which he waited on the young *Chevalier*, and intreated he would allow him some few Days longer, telling him the Occasion. But he would not admit of the Excuse, insisting in being first served, as he had given the first Orders.

The Goldsmith was in a very great Dilemma on this Occasion; but thought the most prudent Way to extricate himself from it, would be to acquaint the King; who no sooner heard the Story, than he commanded that the young *Chevalier* should be first served; and that the Value of the Plate should be paid by the Comptroller of his Household, without any Expence to the other.

It is probable the King imagined the Hurry he shewed for having this Plate got ready by such a Time, was occasioned by his designing to leave *Paris* on that Day;

for

for not till above a Week after it had been delivered were any more Messages sent to him.

But it is plain, the young *Chevalier* was so far from any such Intention, that he resolved to push Things to the last Extremity. — This fine Service, as I afterwards heard from some of his People, was on the Score of a grand Entertainment he made; at which were present the Princess *Talmont*, a near Relation to the Queen, the Marchioness *de Sprimont*, Madam *de Maizieuse*, the Duke *de Bouillon*, and above thirty others of the Nobility of both Sexes, and several Foreigners of great Distinction.

About this Time it was that the two Lords, who were sent Hostages from *Great-Britain*, arrived in *Paris*. On which the young *Chevalier* expressed great Marks of Dissatisfaction; and said publicly, That the Tables were sadly turned upon *England*, since her Word could not be relied upon, without such Pledges as are scarce ever granted but by a conquered Nation, and *French* Faith passed current for all that was to be done on her Part.

If the *British* Glory be indeed so dear to him, as the whole Tenor of his Words and Actions give us the strongest Reason to believe it is, he must, in effect, be extremely shocked at a Concession so unworthy of it, and so unprecedented even in Times of the greatest Danger and Necessity! O how grating is it to the *English* and *Scots* who are here, to see these Lords, these Pledges of the Submission of both Nations, carried about, under the Pretence of diverting them, but in reality to shew them as Trophies of *French* Victory over *British* Spirit! — How stinging must the polite Insult be to these Noble Hostages, did not their Youth prevent it from sinking too deeply into their Reflexion? When they come to more Years, they doubtless will be covered with Blushes at the Remembrance of the shameful Tour they made. I will not give you the Pain of knowing what is said in the Coffee-Houses here on this Occasion, by every little *Witling* and *Petit Maitre*, but proceed to the young *Chevalier's* Affairs, which were now drawing to a Crisis.

The *French* Court having received repeated Complaints from the *English* Ministry, that he was not yet removed,

removed, thought proper to remind him once more what was expected from him. Accordingly the Duke *de Gefures* waited on him a third Time, and acquainted him also that the States of *Friburgh* had returned a most obliging Answer to the King's Letter on his Account, and were ready to receive the Honour of his coming to reside in their *Canton*, with all the Demonstrations of Respect due to his Birth and Virtues, and in their Power to give. To this the young *Chevalier* replied only, That he hoped to find a Time to return the Good-will of the States, without giving the Duke any Satisfaction whether he accepted their Offer or not.

The King on this dispatched a Courier to *Rome*, with an Account of all that had passed. The young *Chevalier* sent also to his Father: And the Court being willing to wait the Result of this, occasioned a yet farther Delay. And as no Part of these Proceedings were a Secret, there was scarce any Thing else talked of in *Paris*. For a Prince, in the Circumstances of this young Hero, to thwart the Intentions, and disregard the Power of so great a Monarch, would have seemed a Thing too strange to be accounted for, had not the flagrant Injustice done him, and the high Idea every one had of the Greatness of his Mind, diminished the Wonder, and justified the Resentment: And I may venture to say, That, among the Body of the People, taking in all Degrees; for one that blamed his Conduct in this Point, there were more than an hundred that applauded it.

Two of the distinguishing Characteristics of the *French* Nation, being the Envy they are apt to conceive of the Excellence of any Person not born among them, and their implicit Love and Reverence, even to idolizing their Sovereign, we must be obliged to confess, that the Merits they vouchsafed to acknowledge in a Foreigner, must be extraordinary indeed; and that he who is capable of rivalling their King in their Affection and Respect, must have somewhat of a superior Dignity about him.——Whenever the young *Chevalier* appeared in any publick Walks, all the Company followed the Path he took, as impelled by an irresistible Attraction.——When he came to the *Opera* or *Comedy*, the Attention of the whole Audience was fixed upon him, regardless

regardless of what was presented on the Stage: The Moment of his Entrance into the Box, a general Whisper, in his Favour, ran from one Side of the Theatre to the other, and few of the fair Sex but let fall Tears of mingled Pity and Admiration; while he alone seemed above a Sensibility of his own Misfortunes, and talked to the young Nobility, with whom he was perpetually surrounded, in the same easy, chearful, and affable Manner he had always done.

It is certain, that, where there is an innate Grandeur of Soul, it will appear in every Look and Motion of the outward Frame. The most illiterate, as well as most discerning, had always thought they saw something in this illustrious Unfortunate, that commanded their Love and Admiration; and almost every one seemed ambitious of being the first to discover in him some new Perfection which they had not heard taken Notice of by others. But the Magnanimity with which he supported this last Stroke, which was looked upon as so fatal to his Hopes, was now the general Topick of Eulogium in all Places whatsoever. The Princess *Talmont* herself spoke so largely of it, even in the King's Presence, that she was forbid the Court; and several other very great Personages were highly in Disgrace on that Account.

The King, however, being impatient to get rid of him at any Rate, and as yet loath to proceed to Extremities, vouchsafed to write a Letter to him with his own Hand, and sent with it a blank Order, to be filled up by himself for what yearly Sum he pleased; — both which the Duke *de Gefures* was obliged to deliver, tho' he has since declared he would have gladly been excused.

The young *Chevalier* read the Letter twice over, and, having paused a little, threw the Order from him with Disdain, saying, He neither wanted, nor would receive any Favours of that Kind from his Most Christian Majesty; and as for the rest, the Thing required of him was not consistent with Honour. — Whether he meant his own Honour, or that of the King, is uncertain; but he would explain himself no farther; and this was all the King's Condescension produced.

This ambiguous Proceeding both perplexed and exasperated the King. A Council was called upon it; and

it was there resolved, that *Monsieur le Comte de Maurepas*, who had always maintained a good Understanding with the young *Chevalier*, should go to him, and expostulate with him on his late Conduct, nor leave him till he had obliged him to declare, in express Terms, what was his Intention : And withal to intimate to him, that if he did nor conform to the present Necessity of Affairs, by leaving the Kingdom with a good Grace, the Ministry would be obliged to compel him to it, in order to fulfil their Engagements with *Great-Britain*.

Les Ministres ! les Ministres ! cried the young *Chevalier* with the greatest Disdain : — *Si vous voulez m'obligerai, Monsieur le Comte, dites au Roi votre maître, que je suis né pour rompre tous les projets de ses Ministres* †.

This, you'll say, was plainly setting them at Defiance, and might be expected would be attended with no less Consequences than the utmost of their Malice would contrive to bring about : But the young *Chevalier* shewed himself as incapable of Fear, as he was above Dissimulation ; and, having nothing to hope from their Friendship, despised their Resentment.

You surprise me very much, Sir, by telling me it is reported in *England*, that, on the Arrival of the Hostages, he concealed himself in the House of some Friend, in order to have it believed he had quitted *Paris* ; than which I can aver, on my own Knowledge, nothing can be more false : And he was so far from endeavouring to avoid those Noble Lords, that he sought an Opportunity of having some Discourse with them ; but the Caution observed by the *Marquis de Puysieux* prevented him from ever once meeting them. The Subject, on which perhaps he intended to have entertained them, might not indeed have been very agreeable to the *French* Court : For though, to preserve an entire Command over all his Passions, is a distinguished Part of his Character, the Indignation he conceived, when hearing these

† The Ministers ! the Ministers ! — If you will oblige me, my Lord Count, tell the King your Master, that I am born to break all the Schemes of his Ministers.

these Lords were arrived, was so great, that without any Regard to who might hear him, he said,——Shameful Concession! unworthy of a Ministry not abandoned to all Sense of Honour and Virtue! But, if ever I mount the Throne of my Ancestors, *Europe* shall see me use my utmost Endeavours to force *France* in her Turn to send Hostages into *England*. This I am assured he said, from the best Authority I could have, except his own.

And here I think it may not be improper to obviate another idle Surmise, which, though you did not mention in your Letter, a Gentleman, who arrived here the other Day, told me was grown into a Rumour when he left *London*; —— which is, That this whole Affair was a Complot between the King and the young *Chevalier*, that the latter might have an Opportunity of making a Noise in *France*, as he had done in *Scotland* and *England*.—— There is somewhat so absurd in such a Supposition, as well deserves the Ridicule it is here treated with by all who have heard of it.——*You English*, said a *French* Gentleman to me, *are very fertile in Invention, when ever you have a Mind either to exalt or depreciate a Character; but your Misfortune is, not to consult Probability in your Fables.*

His Observation was indeed very just as to this Story. For if it be supposed the young *Chevalier* was so passionately fond of making a Noise, as for the Sake of doing so to reject all the Offers made him by a great King and Ministry, Would that King and Ministry submit to be the Dupes of a Vanity so unprofitable to him, and so derogatory to their own Honour? —— Would so many grand Councils have been held, and so many warm Debates have arose, whether they should make Use of Force to expel him the Kingdom, or not, merely to give him an Opportunity of shewing his Spirit, and afford him fresh Matter of Complaint? —— Those who formed this Tale must be little acquainted with the Character of the *French*, who, though they may sometimes yield in Things of little Moment, in order to serve a much greater Purpose of their own, were never known to do it in favour of another. —— The young *Chevalier*, indeed, had a double View in acting in the Manner he did. —— *First*, To convince all *Europe*,
that

that the most solemn Engagements had been entered into between him and the Court of *France*, and were all broke on their Part. And, *secondly*, To shew that Court, that he was not to be any farther imposed upon; and resented, as he ought, the Artifices they had practised on him: Both which Views he knew it could not be in the Power of the King and Ministry to disappoint. But if it can be proved, that the King and Ministry could have any one View in giving him a secret Permission to insult them, I shall cease to treat the above Conjecture with the Contempt I do at present.

Methinks I should be glad, however, to know whether it took Birth from the mean Envy of this young Hero's Enemies, in order to destroy the Merit of his Fortitude and Spirit, or from the mistaken Zeal of some of his Friends, who may imagine it a Credit for him still to be well with the *French* Court; and perhaps continue to fancy, in Spite of so many Proofs to the contrary, that great Things will yet appear in his Favour from this Quarter: But, from which Side soever it proceeds, I believe I have said enough to convince you, or any reasonable Man, of the egregious Folly of it.——But to return.

The Courier, being at length arrived, brought a Letter from the old *Chevalier* to his Son, inclosed in one to the King, open, as it is said, for his Majesty's Perusal. I wish I could oblige you with the Contents: But, though many pretended Copies are handed about, they are so widely different from each other in the most material Passages, that it is impossible to know which of them is genuine, or if any one is so.——All that I can say is this.——A Gentleman, who was near the young *Chevalier's* Person, and is still in *Paris*, assures me, that the Original contained a Command to him to quit the *French* Territories, but without mentioning any Time in which he should obey; and for this Reason he thought himself at Liberty to stay where he was, till he had fixed on a proper Place for his future Residence, as he had some Reluctance to go to *Friburg*, though he had no other Objection, than because he should be looked upon as a Guest recommended by *France*, to whom, the same Person told me he frequently said, and always with some

some Warmth, he would suffer any Thing rather than be obliged.

The Ministry, however, knew nothing of his Intentions, he being determined to give them no previous Satisfaction, and imagining he would pay as little Regard to his Father's Injunctions as he had done to their Remonstrances, pressed the King to give Orders for his being arrested, and conducted by Force out of the Kingdom; to which his Majesty, seeing no other Means of complying with the Treaty, at last consented; though, being in the Queen's Apartment when the Order was brought to sign, I am well informed he burst into this pathetick Exclamation, *Pauvre Prince! qu'il est difficile pour un Roi d'être un veritable ami* †! Which abundantly shewed he was far from being pleased with what the Interest of his People had obliged him to do; and, in my Opinion, also, that he was entirely innocent of the unworthy Treatment the young *Chevalier* received when in the Hands of those commissioned to arrest him.

This Order, signed but at Three o'Clock, was blazed all over *Paris* before Evening. A Gentleman of the young *Chevalier's* Retinue heard of it, and gave him Intelligence; but he was so far from giving any Credit to it, that he cried somewhat hastily, *Pish! Pish!* an idle Rumour; they know I will obey my Father.

Some People compare his Conduct in this Point with that of *Charles XII.* King of *Sweden* at *Bender*, and imagine that, had he been attacked in his own House, he would have defended himself in it as that Prince did. But I can see no Probability of his having any such Design; because, had it been so, he would certainly have kept entirely at home; whereas, on the contrary, he appeared every Day in the most publick Places, and seemed rather to provoke, than endeavour to avoid any Effect of Power. And I rather think this Suggestion an Artifice in the Ministry, who might cause Rumours to be spread in order to excuse the Manner in which they caused him to be arrested.

K

I am

† Poor Prince! How difficult it is for a King to be a true Friend!

I am nevertheless of Opinion, that he was not quite so well assured, as he affected to be, that the King would suffer nothing of the Nature he was informed of should be offered to him. He had too much experienced the Invalidity of *French Faith*, to depend on it for the keeping one Engagement with him, after having violated so many. But the Treaties concerning his Establishment in *England* being more private than that of his being allowed a perpetual Asylum in *France*, he was perhaps not unwilling, as they had broke through that which was known but to a few, to force them, by his resolute Behaviour, to break through, in the most publick Manner, that which was known to every Body.

This I am the more confirmed in, as I am informed by several of his Train, who are still here, that he had repeated Notices sent to him, that an Order was actually signed for his being arrested; and that, walking in the *Tuilleries*, a Person of Condition told him, that he would certainly be seized that very Day, if he did not prevent it by an immediate Departure. But, instead of complying with that Advice, he seemed to treat it as chimerical; and, turning to one of his Followers, ordered a Box should be hired for him that Night at the *Opera-House*. It is probable this Person might speak of the Contempt with which he treated the Apprehensions any one had for him on this Score, and also that he intended to be at the *Opera*; for it was there he was seized.

Whether it were that the Ministry really expected he would make any Resistance, or only pretended they did so; but they took such Measures to disappoint any Design he might have that Way, as must make you smile to hear of. — No less than 1200 of the Guards were drawn out, and posted in the Court of the *Palace-Royal*; a great Number of Serjeants and Grenadeers, armed *Cap-a-pee*, filled the Passage of the *Opera-House*; the *Guet* were placed in all the Streets leading to it, to stop any Coaches from passing by those Ways: Yet, notwithstanding all these Precautions, the Duke de *Biron*, who is Colonel of the Guards, and had the Charge of executing this important Commission, either through Shame or Fear, durst not appear in it, but kept himself at a Distance, disguised, to see the Event; which he committed

committed to the Care of Major *Vaudreville*, a Man of mean Extraction, and more mean Merit, who had been raised by him to that Post.

This prodigious Feat (prodigious indeed as to the Cowardice with which it was concerted, and the Brutality exercised after the Accomplishment) was performed by six Serjeants, who, disguised like Tradesmen, waited his stepping out of his Coach, and all at once surrounding him, and seizing both his Arms and Legs, hurried him into the Palace-Royal; where they searched his Pockets, took out all was there, even to a Penknife and Book; and not yet thinking themselves safe, they bound him in such a Manner, that it was utterly impossible for him to move any one Limb of his Body. In fine, they made no Difference between him and a Malefactor, excepting that the Cords they tied him with were of Silk.

But I may spare my Pen the Pains of relating any farther Particulars of this shocking Scene, as I know a full Account of it has been transmitted to *England*, by a Person of Condition, in a Letter to a Friend †, and you will doubtless have seen it before this reaches you. I have only to acquaint you, that the Moment the Word was given of his being taken, another Party of the Guards seized on his House, turned out the lower Class of Domesticks, clapped all the Gentlemen of his Retinue into the Bastile, and put the Broad Seal on his Effects, but it is not to be questioned they will be sent after him, as soon as it is known where he will fix his Residence. The Gentlemen were set at Liberty on the Return of the Officers who had conducted him to the Frontiers, and I suppose will also follow the Moment any News of him arrives. All that is yet known is, that he took his Route from *Pont bon Voisin* to *Chamberry*, where, having staid three Days to write Letters to several Parts of *Europe*, he proceeded to *Avignon*, in order to meet Don *Philip*, with whom, we hear he staid about a Week. Whether he intends to continue there, or retire to some other Place, I believe no one here is able to determine.

Having told how much he was beloved at *Paris*, you will doubtless be curious to hear in what Manner the

K 2

People

† A Copy of which is hereto subjoined,

People beheld this Event. I will therefore give you as perfect a Description as I am able, as it was a Thing they both feared and expected. The News of his Arrest occasioned great Murmurs and Complaining. Some who chanced to be in the Street where it happened, and saw the Serjeants take hold of him in the Manner I have related, say he looked, that Instant, like an Angel seized by Fiends, and could not forbear uttering the bitterest Execrations against those Men, who, perhaps, were no less shocked themselves at the Part they were obliged to act. But, when they were afterwards informed of the unworthy, indeed indecent Treatment he had received, not only at the Palace-Royal, but also at the Castle of *Vincennes*, and the amazing Fortitude and Magnanimity with which he sustained it, their Indignation against the Authors of it rose beyond all Bounds. They exclaimed against the Ministry for advising, the Officers for acting, and scarce spared Majesty itself for consenting. Where they dare speak their Sentiments freely, they cry, *Ab ! diront ils à cette heure, Non pas Louis le Bien-aimée, mais Louis l'Injuste* †. Thus it is in the Power of a bad Ministry to lose a Monarch the Affections of his Subjects.

But what I should treat as incredible, had I received it from any other Mouths than those of some Persons of the first Quality who were present, is this. The next Morning after the young *Chevalier* was arrested, the *Dauphin* went to the Royal Apartment, and, in the full Levee, took the Liberty of condemning the Step that had been taken, with a Vehemence, which, however just, was thought by some too presuming. — He said, That he was both surprised and grieved his Majesty had been prevailed upon to give the Royal Sanction to an Act which fixed an indelible Stain upon the Glory of *France* : — That all *Europe* would despise the barbarous Policy of a Court, which shewed no Regard, either to its own Engagements, or the Blood and Virtues of the Person thus ill dealt with : That the Ministers, who yielded such an Article, to be inserted in the Treaty, and afterwards advised the Execution of it, ought

† Ah ! they will say now, Not *Lewis the Well-beloved* but *Lewis the Unjust*.

ought to be looked upon as the Betrayers of his Majesty's Honour and that of their Country : And added, That in this he spoke not only his own Sense, but that of the whole Nation. So stinging a Remonstrance coming from the Mouth of a Son, could not but highly irritate a King and Father ; yet did he content himself, at first, with only telling him, he was too young to give his Judgment in Affairs of that nice and delicate Nature ; till, finding the *Dauphin* persisted in inveighing against all the Measures had been taken in relation to the young *Chevalier*, the King grew more warm ; and such high Words arose between them, that the Princes of the Blood, and others of the Nobility who were present, were in the utmost Consternation, and withdrew one by one, not choosing to be Witness of a Dispute in which none dared to interpose.

The Example of the *Dauphin* gives a Kind of Latitude to others ; and if they have not the Boldness to utter their Sentiments, as he did, to the King himself, he is the only Person from whom they endeavour to conceal them. ——— Wherever you go, scarce any Thing is talked of at present, nor, I believe, will be for a long Time ; but the extraordinary Merits, Misfortunes, and ill Treatment of the young *HERO*, who, they say, wants only the good Fortune of *Alexander*, to be as *great* as *Alexander* ; and, to have lived in the virtuous Days of *Scipio*, to be equally revered for his Fortitude, Temperance, and all the Virtues of Philosophy.

Where the illustrious Wanderer will now direct his Course, is impossible to say. We only know, that the Aversion he has always had for the Superstition and Bigotry of *Rome*, made him resolve on quitting it, never to return thither to reside ; and that as his great Prudence will not suffer him to make any Resolution without well weighing the Nature of the Thing in question, and the Consequences that may probably result from it ; so the Steadiness of his Temper renders him incapable of receding from whatsoever he has once resolved. —

But, to what Part of the World soever he goes, or what Promises soever he may hereafter be flattered with, I think we may reasonably conclude, from the whole Tenor of his late Conduct, that though he is strictly tenacious

cious of his Claim, industrious in prosecuting it, and has Courage to undertake every Thing consistent with Honour for the Recovery of those Rights to which he thinks himself born, he will, for the future, always disdain to be made the Dupe of any foreign Power, to distress the People of *Great-Britain*, with how much Severity soever they may treat either his Person or Pretensions. *I am,*

Sir,

Paris, Jan. 30.

1749.

Yours, &c.

A LETTER from a FRENCH Lady at PARIS.

*Giving a particular Account of the Manner in
which Prince EDWARD was arrested.*

I Do not know, Sir, whether I can give you so circumstantiate a Detail as you desire, of what happened upon the Day on which Prince *Edward* was arrested. Whether it proceeds from the Ministers being afraid of the Populace, or from their being ashamed of the Manner in which they have conducted this Affair, but at present they make Use of all possible Methods to disguise the Facts; and if, for the first two or three Days, they had taken the same Pains, I should have had nothing to communicate to you but publick Rumours: But these I shall carefully avoid; and, if I am not sufficiently informed to give you *all* that is true, you may be assured, at least, of having nothing from me that is *not* true.

You and every one else have heard that Prince *Edward* refused to depart the Kingdom. Whether he grounded his Refusal upon a Treaty with *France*, or
upon

upon the Word or Faith of the King, he believed that the Bands of Union between his Majesty and himself, were too strong not to induce him to think all Orders supposititious, (as he called them) except such as his Majesty should be pleased to signify from his own Mouth.

This steady Conduct, which they little expected, appeared extravagant to the Court: They were astonished at his attempting to oppose the Will of the King. Such an Opposition made them believe, that, after the Example of *Charles* the XII. he would stand a Siege in his own House. They gave out, that he threatened to kill the first Man that should offer to arrest him; and that, beginning thus by Murder, he would finish by Suicide. Monsieur the Duke *de Guesvres*, and several others, were mentioned as Witnesses of these Declarations; but there is not one of them who does not deny their having ever heard any such Thing. Among others, the Duke declares publickly, that the Prince had always assured him that he would shew a Respect to all those who should apply to him in the Name of the King.

This supposed Intention, however, giving the Alarm to the Council, and furnishing Matter for the Wisdom of the Ministers, made them, after mature Deliberation, resolve to have Prince *Edward* seized by Surprise. The Passage leading to the Opera-House was chosen as the most proper Place for arresting him. The Prince appeared every Day in some publick Assembly, either in the Walks or in the Play-Houses; and, for some Time before, he had even frequented them more than usual; being probably resolved, that, if they should attempt any Violence, it should be done in Publick, that the World might see that he did not willingly give up the Asylum which had been promised him by *France*.

The Day of Execution being fixed, and the Orders given to Monsieur the Duke *de Biron*, Colonel of the *French* Guards, a Council of War was held at the Duke's House, in the Night between *Monday* and *Tuesday* the 11th of *December*, which was composed of the Field-Officers and six Serjeants. They concerted the Methods for executing this Enterprize: The Officers who were to have a Share in it were commanded to repair to Mr. *de Vaudreville's* before Day, in order to prevent their being perceived. The Duke *de Biron* went thither

thither himself, and caused ten Elms of Crimson Silk Cord to be bought; and having drawn out 1200 Men of his Regiment, he ordered them to invest the Palace-Royal *. The Serjeants of the Regiment, armed with Cuirasses and Scull-Caps, had Directions to be in the Passage to the Opera-House, and in the Entrances of the Houses bordering upon it. The Serjeants of the Grenadiers, as being the most *intrepid*, were ordered to seize the Prince: Two Companies of Grenadiers took Post in the Court-Yard of the Kitchens, where the Duke *de Biron*, disguised and in a Coach, waited to see the Success of this Enterprize. The *Musquetairs* † had Orders to be ready to mount on Horseback: The *Guet* ‡ was distributed in all the neighbouring Streets: Troops were posted upon the Road from the Palace-Royal quite to *Vincennes*; Hatchets and Scaling-Ladders were prepared, Locksmiths were directed to attend, in order to take the Prince by a Scalade, in case he should throw himself into some House, and there resolve to stand a Siege. Dr. *Vernage*, the Physician, and three Surgeons, were also ordered to be in Readiness to dress the Wounded.

The Measures thus taken, with all this Precaution and Secrecy, were notwithstanding observed. The Prince received that Morning several Notes giving him Advice of the whole Design. At the *Tuilleries* * likewise he was advertised of it; and as he passed through the Street *St. Honoré*, going to the Opera, he heard a Voice call to him, *Prince, return, they are going to arrest you, the Palace-Royal is beset*. Notwithstanding these Advices he went on; and in alighting from his Coach, at the Passage of the Opera-House, he found the Guards doubled, with their Bayonets fixed on the Muzzles of their Musquets, the *Guet* turning Passengers out of the Streets, and making the Coaches file off; and he was surrounded by the Serjeants dressed in grey Clothes, as if they had been Servants who were desirous to get a Sight of him; a popular Curiosity to which he had been much

* The Opera-House at *Paris* is in this Palace. † A Body of French Horse-Guards. ‡ A Body of Men kept for guarding the Streets in *Paris*.

* Royal Gardens at *Paris*, where the Nobility are allowed to walk.

much accustomed. One Serjeant in his Uniform advanced, under Pretence of dispersing the Mob, which was to be the Signal. At that Instant two Serjeants seized him by the Arms behind, two seized his Hands, one seized him round the Middle, and another seized his Legs. In this Condition they carried him to a great Gate at the End of the Passage belonging to Mr. *de Matsar*, which opened into the Court-Yard of the Kitchens. Mr. *de Vaudreville*, and the other Officers, waited for the Prince behind this Gate, which they opened to receive him. *Monseigneur*, says Mr. *de Vaudreville*, *I arrest you in the Name of the King my Master.* The Prince, without the least Change in his Countenance, answered, *The Manner is a little too violent.* According to their Orders, they carried him into a Hall upon the Ground-Floor, where they demanded his Arms. *I shall not deliver them to you*, says he, *but you may take them.* They took from him his Sword, a Knife with two Blades, and two Pistols. He said, *They must not be surpris'd at seeing him have Pistols, for he had constantly carried a Pair in his Pockets ever since he returned from Scotland.* Mr. *de Vaudreville* begged of him not to make any Attempt either upon his own Life, or that of any other Person; the Prince gave him his Word he would not. Then Mr. *de Vaudreville* went to the Duke *de Biron's* Coach, to give an Account of what passed. He informed him of the Prince's being disarmed, and of his having made no Resistance. The Duke judged, nevertheless, that, for the greater Security, it was necessary to have him bound, which was executed by Mr. *de Vaudreville*, who, in doing it, made his Excuse to the Prince, by assuring him that these Precautions were taken out of Regard to his Person, and solely to prevent his R——l H——s from making any Attempt upon himself. *I am not used to such Proceedings*, replied the Prince, *and I shall not say whether they are justifiable or not, but the Disgrace cannot affect me, it can only affect your Master.* Mr. *de Vaudreville*, while he was causing him to be bound, never ceased declaring how much he was chagrined at having such a Commission to execute. *It is very mortifying for an Officer*, replies the Prince. They
L proceeded

proceeded however: Both his Arms and Legs were tied, and they bound him with so many Cords, that looking disdainfully upon them, he asked, *Have ye not enough now?* Not yet, answered Mr. *de Vaudreville*. At which Words the Prince darted a menacing Look at him. They then put him into a hired Coach that waited in the Court-Yard of the Kitchens. Mr. *de Vaudreville* placed himself by his Side, and two Captains over against him. Two Officers on Horseback rode with a Hand upon the Door on each Side of the Coach; six Grenadiers with their Bayonets fixed, mounted behind, and the rest of the Soldiers surrounded the Coach on Foot. The whole Train took their Way through the Suburb of *St. Anthoine*; and the Duke *de Biron*, after seeing them set out, stepped from his Coach into his Chaise, to go and give an Account of the whole to the King.

The Prince suffered himself to be thus conducted, without allowing one Word to drop from him which was unworthy the Greatness of his Soul, never uttering so much as the least Complaint, or any reproachful Expression. The Coach stopped in the Suburb of *St. Anthoine*, where a Detachment of Musquetairs waited for it, and where they put fresh Horses to the Coach; and, upon seeing these Preparations, the Prince asked, *Where are we going?* To Hanover? *Monseigneur*, says Mr. *de Vaudreville*, they have changed Horses, that your R——I H———s may not be kept too long upon the Road. The Prince continued his Journey without saying a Word more, and they conducted him to *Vincennes*. The Marquis *de Chatelet*, who was known to the Prince, and beloved by him, had just received Orders to put him in the Tower. The Coach arrives and passes the Bridge, which was that Moment drawn up. As soon as the Prince had a Sight of Mr. *de Chatelet*, he calls to him, *I should be glad to embrace you: Come to me, my Friend, you see I cannot come to you.* Mr. *de Chatelet* perceiving he was bound, cried out with Horror, and running to him, caused him to be unbound, and assisted in it, trembling, and scarce able to support himself. *Come, come, my Friend*, says the Prince, encouraging him, and so walked up the
Stairs

Stairs (which consisted of fifty Steps) to the Chamber appointed for his Lodging. Upon entering he coolly surveyed his Apartment, the Furniture of which consisted of a matted Chair, and a wretched Camp-bed. *This*, says he, *is not very magnificent*. And then asked, what was the Meaning of those Characters which he observed upon the Walls of the Room. Mr. de Chatelet answered, That they were the Handy-Work of a Priest who had made a long Abode in that Chamber. After some little Time, Mr. de Vaudreville said, that his R——l H———s had not been thoroughly searched. Upon which Mr. de Chatelet asked the Prince, if he had any Thing remaining, with which he could make an Attempt on himself; whereupon he gave them a Pair of Compasses, and declared upon his Word he had nothing more. Mr. de Vaudreville took Mr. de Chatelet aside, and, after whispering some Time together, they returned to the Prince, and searched him so strictly, that Mr. de Vaudreville thrust his Hands even into the most secret Parts of his Garments. Upon this the Prince shewed in his Countenance a Mark of great Indignation, but he uttered not a Word. They found a Pocket-Book, which, I am almost ashamed to tell you, they took from him. After this Mr. de Chatelet observed, that, the Prince's Chamber being very small, he could not take a Walk in it; and that, having been accustomed to a great deal of Exercise, his being inclosed in such a little Room might be prejudicial to his Health. *Instead of taking one Turn, I shall take four*, says the Prince. To which Mr. de Chatelet replied, that there was next to that a large Room, the Door of which should be opened, if his R——l H———s would give his Word. ——— But, without giving him Time to finish, the Prince interrupted him by saying, *I shall not give my Word; I have given it once already, and it was not taken; I shall therefore give it no more. I am undone*, cries Mr. de Chatelet, falling at his Feet, and pouring out a Flood of Tears, *Monseigneur, this is the most unfortunate Day of my whole Life*. The Prince, with great Tenderness, gave him his Hand, and said, *I know your Friendship for me: I shall never confound the Friend with the Governor. Do the Duties of your Office.*

Office. They asked him at what Hour he would sup. He answered, that he had dined heartily, and very late, and that he would call for something when he had a Mind to eat. Then he inquired how they had treated the Gentlemen his Attendants. *Have you, says he, bound my Englishmen, as you did me? An Englishman is not used to be bound; he is not made for that Purpose.* A little after he re-assumed the Discourse about his People, thus: *If you have treated the Chevalier Harrington, in the same Manner you have treated me, I heartily pity the poor Man: He is fat, and must have suffered a great deal.* At last, finding that they refused to give him any Account of the Fate of his People, he spoke no more of them, but walked about his Chamber, treating the Officers appointed for his Guard with Familiarity and Politeness, Mr. *de Vaudreville* being the only Person to whom he did not direct his Discourse. After having walked a long Time, he threw himself upon the Bed in his Clothes, but it was with Difficulty he could compose himself. At last, however, he fell asleep; but his Sleep was so disturbed, that the Officers of his Guard, being frightened, run to his Bed-Side, where they found him still fast asleep. He continued sleeping till six in the Morning, when he awaked, and asked what it was o'Clock. Being told, he with a Smile said, *The Nights seem here to be somewhat long.* He then got up, walked about in his Chamber, talking freely with the Officers about indifferent Matters, and treating them as if they had belonged to himself.

This, Sir, is what I have learned from an Officer who is a Friend of mine, and was one of those upon the Prince's Guard. He was with Mr. *de Vaudreville* behind the Gate at the Bottom of the Opera-House Passage. He saw the Prince brought in, conducted him to *Vincennes*, and did not leave him till next Morning at Ten o'Clock. My Friend would, at first, have denied the Prince's having been bound, but finding that the Fact was averred and made publick, he with Grief acknowledged it. He had conceived the highest Respect, and was struck with Admiration of Prince *Edward*. There never was, says he, so great a Man: In his greatest Distress he did not discover the least Weakness: In
all

all his Conversation he shewed as much Temper and Magnanimity as any Man could shew in the Height of Prosperity ; Even in his Prison he appeared the Monarch of the Universe, and we seemed to be his Subjects, born to receive his Commands.

Both Officers and Soldiers, upon their Return from *Vincennes*, spoke the like Sentiments as my Friend : They thought it their Duty not to conceal their Admiration. In less than four Hours all these Circumstances were spread over the whole City of *Paris*, Prince *Edward* is there beloved : They respect his Virtues : They think he had merited an Asylum in *France*. The Publick, already in a Consternation at hearing of his being arrested, shewed the utmost Indignation at the Treatment he had received ; their Discourse was outrageous, and without any Restraint. This Event was looked on as a publick Calamity ; In every House you went to, you found them in Tears : Men, Women, all weeping, all seemed to lament the Loss of the Honour of their King, and of that of their Country ; and every one imagined, that each had received a personal Disgrace. In short, the publick Resentment was so furious, that it was thought necessary to give some pretended Reasons for binding the Prince, and for the other Parts of the Treatment he had suffered. The Officers of the Guards were reprimanded by their Commanders for having so much extolled the Prince ; They were ordered to say, that he attempted to throw himself out of the Coach ; they had bound him, because, after he had delivered one Pistol, and given his Word that he had no more, they had, nevertheless, found another. But those Stories came too late ; They could not now contradict the Facts which they themselves had publickly related. Besides, all the Officers, except one or two, refused Obedience to this particular Command : They continued to speak with Admiration of the Prince. Those who were so mean as to recant what they had said, were at length overwhelmed with Shame, and obliged to be silent. And thus were all the Efforts to blacken the Prince's Character rendered ineffectual.

all his conversation he showed as much temper and
 animosity as any man could show in the light of
 propriety: Even in his pillow he appeared the
 much of the University, and we seemed to be his
 just, born to receive his commands.
 Both Officers and Soldiers, upon their return from
 business, spoke the like sentiments as my friends:
 They thought it their duty not to conceal their
 indignation less than their love all their circumstances
 were spread over the whole City of Paris, Prince Ali
 was as there beloved: They talked his virtues:
 They think he had needed an Alibi in France.
 The Publick, already in a Commotion at hearing of
 his being arrested, showed the utmost indignation at the
 treatment he had received; their indignation was equal
 to ours, and without any restraint. This French was
 looked on as a publick enemy: In every house you
 went to, you found them in tears: Men, Women, all
 weeping, all seemed to lament the loss of the honour
 of their King, and of the Country; and every
 one was grieved, that could not do a better Dis-
 tinction. In short, the people were so indignant
 that it was thought necessary to provide
 reasons for finding the King in the other parts
 of the treatment he had suffered. The Officers of the
 Guard were reprehended by their Commanders for
 having so much extolled the Prince: They were order-
 ed to say, that he attempted to throw himself out of the
 window, they had found him, bound, after he had de-
 livered his pistol, and given his Word that he had no
 more, they had, nevertheless, found weapons. For this
 excuse came too late: They could not now contradict
 the facts which they themselves had publicly related.
 Besides all the Officers, except one or two, refused O-
 bedience to this particular Command: They continued
 to speak with admiration of the Prince. Those who
 were so mean as to resent what they had said, were as-
 saulted and overwhelmed with shame, and obliged to be
 silent. And thus were all the efforts to blacken the
 Prince's Character rendered ineffectual.



1793

